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Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 344.

Fort Cornwallis 9th March 1827.

No. 12.

Envoy to Siam

To G. Swinton Esq.

Secretary to Government.

Sir,

In the 90th and 170th paragraphs of the Journal of my late Mission to Siam I reported that I should on a future day submit some account of the journies performed overland through the Siamese dominions by Messrs. Harris and Leal, and as I have now had an opportunity of arranging the papers which were furnished to me, I do myself the honor to tender a copy of the whole for the inspection of His Excellency the Vice President in Council.

I have &c.

(Signed) H. Burney Captain.
Envoy to Siam.

Calcutta 1st March 1827.

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Zo. 13.

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Introduction.

During the late Mission to Siam Captain Burney left at Ligor with the Siamese Governor or Rajah of that place, Mr. Harris a sub Assistant Surgeon on the Penang Establishment, and Mr. Leal, an interpreter, respecting whom more will appear in a succeeding paper. The Rajah had pressed Captain Burney to convey to Bangkok on board the Mission vessel one of His Highness's sons and a Commissioner from Siam, with their followers, to make room for whom in the vessel, as well as to ensure in some measure the fulfilment of an engagement which the Rajah had made to join Captain Burney at Bangkok, His Highness was requested to let Messrs. Harris and Leal accompany him to the capital overland. Mr. Harris kept some notes of his journey from Ligor, and the following account has been drawn up from these notes, with some assistance from Captain Burney. It is right to add, that Mr. Harris took great pains to acquire a knowledge of the Siamese language, and to seize every opportunity of affording medical aid to the Siamese, for the purpose of rendering such knowledge and aid subservient to the success of the Mission. His desire of conciliating some of tho Siamese Chiefs induced him even to take before them, several nauseous doses, which he found the Phra Khlang and the Rajah of Ligor afraid to let him administer to their children, until they had first seen him fearlessly take such medicines.

The Mission had received from Mr. Crawfurd at Singapore the following account of Ligore, the general accuracy of which was afterwards proved. "The river of Ta Yung (Tha-wang) leads part of the way to the present town of Ligor, called in the Siamese language Lakon (Lak'hon). After going two

hours up the river the traveller proceeding to Ligor quits his boat, and an hour's walk (half an hour's) conveys him to the town by a good road with an avenue of trees. Ligor is a walled town with ramparts of brick and mortar with four gate ways and a wet ditch (which during the rains communicates with the Thouang River). It is in form an oblong square. There are not above 14 or 15 old cannon mounted (the Mission did not see one). The place contains about 5,000 inhabitants and appears at one time to have been much more populous; but it was twice captured by the Burmans, and may of the inhabitants carried off (Alompra in 1760 and again so lately as 1785 by one of Minderagee's generals). The present chief is a great favorite of the King of Siam, who has much increased his authority, which not only extends over all the tributary Malay States on both sides of the Peninsula, but within the last year over Singora. He has in his hands the power of life and death. The number of males borne in the conscription rolls within the proper jurisdiction of Ligor, exclusive of the Malay tributaries, is said to be 12000."

In addition to the above the Mission collected at Ligor the following particulars. The chief retains in his own hands every particle of power and personally conducts the most trifling details. He has a *Than Belat* or Deputy, but no *Yokobat* or other officer as in most of the Siamese Provinces. The office of Belat is said to be a sinecure, excepting when the chief leaves the country; at which time that Minister and two or three others are formed into a Commission of Government. There are three or four Commissioners sent to His Highness from Bangkok as a kind of Assessors but he seems to treat them with very little consideration. His Highness's wife, a first cousin of the present King of Siam, is said to possess much influence over the Chief, and to be principally consulted by him. Their eldest daughter

is one of the present King of Siam's wives, and she lately presented His Majesty with a son and heir. His Highness's eldest son by a concubine named *Phra Phakdi Borirak* is Governor of Quedah by appointment from the Court of Siam.

The town of Ligor stands on a very extensive plain, which appears to reach to the great central range of mountains, and is covered with paddy cultivation. There is a little pepper cultivated in the interior and some iron collected at a place called Lamphoon. But the tin mines are much neglected and said to be exhausted. The Mission was shown near the landing place on the banks of the Tha-wang, some old brick foundations, alleged to be the site of the Dutch Factory which existed here from the beginning of the 17th Century to the middle of the last. Ligor now conducts no direct trade with China, Cochin China or other foreign port. What little trade it possesses is with Siam and is entirely engrossed by the Chief. There is not a single brick dwelling house in the town but a great many temples and pyramids of that material, and most of them in ruins. One pyramid, or *Phra Chaidi*, with a high gilt spire is visible from the sea and larger than any which the Mission afterwards saw at Bangkok. The Mission could learn no intelligence of the ancient inscriptions on stone said by Leyden in his dissertation on the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations (Asiatic Researches vol. X) to exist in the vicinity of Ligor among the ruins of a very ancient temple belonging to the former *Thay jai* race. The Chief's house is of plank with a tiled roof. It is situated within the fort which consists of an old high wall in a most dilapidated condition, and without a gun mounted in any part within or upon it. Indeed the Mission saw scarcely a musket at Ligor, and understood that the Chief had sent the whole of his military means to Queda. The number of women also

far exceeded the proportion of men. Most of the latter were said to be in the interior attending to cultivation, but the Mission had reason to believe that His Highness had left many of them with his boats on the opposite coast.

The Mission Brig had no difficulty in making Ligor port excepting what proceeded from light westerly winds and a strong easterly current, and it met with no difficulty in departing again, although from the high swell and surf, which are raised whenever the northerly winds blow strong, and the shoal at the head of Tantalam Island, it is evident that Ligor roads are not safe for a ship during the height of the north east monsoon. The brig was lying at anchor in three fathoms, about two and half miles from the mouth of the Tha-wang river which is to the north ward of that of Ligor. The two rivers join a few miles inland, and the latter is now little used.

Captain Alexander Hamilton, in his New Account of the East Indies in* 1744, gives the following account of Ligor.

* i.e. the 1744 ed. of the book published in 1727.

"Ligor lies about 12 leagues to the northward of Saugore, and between them lies a low uninhabited island, called Papier. It reaches from Saugore within three leagues of Ligor River. It is well stored with wild buffaloes, hog and deer, which are free for all persons to kill at pleasure. The road of Ligor lies two leagues from the river and about a league within the river's mouth stands the Dutch Factory, a pretty commodious house, built of brick after the Dutch fashion. The town stands about two miles above the factory. It is built of bamboos and thatched with reed. There are many Pagan temples in it, which have steeples built very high, in form of very sharp pyramids. They are so small, that in the road they look like ships' masts. It produces abundance of tin but the Dutch engross it all."

Hamilton's Island of Papier is now named in Horsburgh's Charts *Tantalam*, which word Mr. Crawfurd supposes to be a corruption of the Malay Tana, or land of Thaloong, a Siamese Province lying between Singora and Ligor, called also Merdelong and Bandelon, corruptions of *Menang* country, and Ban village of Thaloong. The Siamese do not recognize Tantalam as an island. The north end or our Ligor Point they call *Lem* or *Point Chhoomphuk*, and the channel which divides the island from the main they call *Khlong* or river *Phonang*. Hamilton's *Papier* may be derived from the name often given to the mouth of the Ligor river, *Pak nam Phya* or *Pak-Phiya*. The old Portuguese travellers call Ligor, Lugar and Lungar. The Siamese ministers write *Phu thaloong* whence Petelong the early Portuguese name for Thaloong. The Chinese again corrupt it into Khontelon.

La Loubère in his Historical Relation of Siam mentions the following anecdote of a French engineer, M. de la Mare, whom M. Chaumont had left at Siam. "When by the King of Siam's order he went to Ligor to take a draught thereof, the Governor would not permit him to go round it under two days, though he could have done it in less than an hour."

(* up to the present this Sketch has has not been discovered)

The accompanying Geographical Sketch* has been compiled from a slight sketch prepared by Mr. Leal from several native maps and descriptions collected from Pegu and Siamese travellers at Bangkok, from the accounts of four sepoys of the 25th Bengal Native Infantry, who conveyed public dispatches from the Envoy at Bangkok to Martaban and Tavoy and returned with answers, and from a manuscript map of the west coast of the Gulf of Siam received from Mr. Crawfurd. Horsburgh notices his want of authentic documents regarding the Gulf of Siam and Tenasserim Coast, which have never been surveyed. His chart,

however, has been for the most part followed in delineating the coasts of this sketch.

The Green line marks Mr. Harris's route and the blue Mr. Leal's.

(Signed) H. Burney Captain.

ACCOUNT of an Overland Route from the town of Ligor to Pothiu, a village on the Isthmus of Kraw, by Arthur Harris Acting Assistant Surgeon attached to Captain Burney's Mission to Siam.

Sunday 18th December 1825.

Everything ready for our departure, and the Raja of Ligor having allowed Mr. Leal and myself 8 elephants to carry ourselves, servants and baggage, about noon the Raja, preceded by a Siamese band of musicians, went to the wat or Siamese temple where his daughter lay embalmed. Her remains had been in that state since the month of April or May, and the Siamese priest daily prayed over them. We are told that the Raja had not time to burn the body in a suitable manner, but that he intended doing so upon his return from Siam. About 10 o'clock the Raja came to our house upon an elephant which had very rich trappings, and desired us to mount and follow him, which we did. We passed through the town of Ligor and over extensive plains until half past two, when we crossed the *Tha wong* river and arrived at a place called *Nam Jen*,[a] where we halted for the day. *Nam Jen* is a small village and contains a Siamese temple, called *Wat Chomlan*.[b] We found here an attap house erected for the Raja's accommodation, and a smaller one for ourselves. Before our departure from Ligor some men had been sent by the Rajah to erect similar houses at most of the places where we halted. Our whole party now consisted of about 3 or 400 persons with 80 elephants; nearly 100 Siamese soldiers dressed in scarlet and armed with muskets walked before the Raja's elephants, and before them again a party of Malays was employed in clearing the road and sometimes in making a new path. Besides the Rajah and ourselves the subordinate Siamese officers only were mounted. There were no women and the elephants were chiefly employed in carrying the Raja's baggage, which consisted, we

a Nam is water and Jen cold in the Siamese language.

b Wat or Vat is a temple or monastery.

were told, of all the treasure and curiosities that he had been able to collect at Queda or to procure from Penang for the King and Wangna of Siam. The Rajah left his women and sick son at Ligor to follow him to Bangkok by water upon the change of monsoon in March. Mr. Leal made the Latitude of Ligor by observation 8.° 17′. 16″ N.

MONDAY 19th December. We continued at Nam Jen all this day in consequence of the Rajah being slightly indisposed. He applied to me for some medicine, but before he would take it, he desired one of his followers, a stout healthy man, to take a dose and report its effects. It was a purgative.

TUESDAY 20th December. We started from *Nam Jen* about 9 o'clock in the morning and at 10 crossed a small stream *Nam Khao*[c] from which the road was very bad and miry, the elephants sinking in mud at every step, until half past two p. m., when we arrived at a place called *Ban Hooa Thaphan.*[d] Our halting houses were near a Siamese temple called *Wat Khongloon* and close to the sea side, as we heard very plainly the beating of the waves. But it rained very hard and we were unable to go and see any thing. Our road this day passed through thick jungle and sometimes through paddy fields.

c Mountain stream, Khao is a hill.

d Hooa is a head or point in Siamese, Thaphan a bridge. Ban is a village & Khlong a river. Most of the names in Mr. Harris's route have some signification which is pointed out whenever it can be ascertained.

WEDNESDAY 21st December. We left *Ban Hooa Thaphan* about 10 a. m. and after passing over very bad roads covered with water, we arrived with a few of the party only, at 8 o'clock at night, at *Ban Clai*[e] a village on the right bank of the river *Clai*, inhabited chiefly by Chinese, who are employed in cultivating pepper. Our halting houses were as usual near a Siamese temple. The Rajah did not come up this day.

e This is Horsburgh's Clay, but the map in Loubere's Historical Relation of Siam as well as that in Valentyn's works spells it as here. Clai is near in Siamese, Claĭ is far.

THURSDAY 22d December. Mr. Leal and I took a boat and went down to the mouth of the Clai River in about an hour; the banks of the river are

very high and covered thick jungle. At the village the river is about 100 yards wide, but the mouth is narrower, being blocked up by the sands gathering on the bar and on each side, and here the surf was as high and violent as that at Madras. The bed of the river is sandy and the water very clear. The Rajah arrived late this night and in passing our halting house enquired how we had got on through the bad roads and weather. Mr. Leal took an observation at the mouth of the River Clai and made the Latitude 8°. 42'. 0".

FRIDAY 23d December. We were detained all this day at *Ban Clai* in consequence of the whole of the Rajah's baggage not having come up. In the evening he asked us to accompany him to see the village of *Ban Clai*. It contained about 1000 persons, chiefly Chinese and the head man was a Chinese. One of the Rajah's followers was attacked this night with cholera, and at the Rajah's request I administered medicine which overcame the disease.

SATURDAY 24th December. We started from *Ban Clai* at ½ past 7 in the morning, at 10 crossed a small stream named *Khlong Punsoo*, at half past 10 another *Khlong Klien*[f], at half past 12 another *Khlong Nam Hoo*[g], near which we passed through paddy fields; at half past 1 we crossed another clear and sandy stream, *Khlong Tha Phoon*, at 3 another *Klong Thanah*[h], near the foot of a high hill, at 6 p. m. we arrived at a place call *Ban Kuang*[i] where we halted for the night. Our road this day lay chiefly through thick jungle and we saw several immense pieces of timber, apparently cut to be removed. Our halting places situated at the foot of a hill on a plain, through which a fine clear stream, *Khlong Kuang*, flowed. The Raja hearing from me that the next was Christmas day directed his people to supply us with such extra articles as could be procured to enable us to celebrate our festival. The Rajah had given us on

f Klien is a mine.

g Rippling stream.

h Tha is a place and Nah outside.

i Kuang is a shell. This may be Horsburgh's & Valentyn's Along as it appears to be in about the same situation. Above Kuong & close to the sea shore is Lamphoon, a place possessing iron mines.

the day we left Ligor a supply of claret and cherry brandy which had been sent to him from Penang.

SUNDAY 25th December. We crossed the *Khlong Kuang* at half past 7 a. m., at 11 Khlong *Chhoon* [j], the banks of which were very steep, at half past two we came in sight of an extensive range of mountains on the left side of the road, and at 6 p.m. we arrived at our halting place, near a small village called *Hooa Nah* [k]. Our road this day lay chiefly through thick jungle. In the evening the Rajah sent for us while he examined some of the villagers respecting the next day's route.

j Chhoon is adverse opposed.

k End of paddy field. Nah is a paddy field.

MONDAY 26th December. We left *Hooa Nah* at 8 a. m. and after crossing 3 or 4 small streams and in one place some hilly ground called by the Siamese the *Nine Hills* [l], we arrived at 6 p. m. at our halting place near a small village named *Kanom* [m]. Our road this day was through thick jungle, and the Rajah's followers were prepared to meet tigers. It rained all this day very heavily and incessantly.

l Kaw Thoo Khao.

m This must be Horsburgh & Valentyn's Carnom altho' they place Carnom River more to the southward & Carnom point a little lower than the 9th degree of Latitude.

TUESDAY 27th December. Heavy rains detained us all this day and we were unable to stir out of the house for a moment.

WEDNESDAY 28th Decr. We left *Kanom* at ½ past 6 a. m., at 12 crossed a stream *Khlong Chekram* and halted on the other side, near a small village of Siamese, *Ban Chekram*, around which there was a good deal of paddy cultivation. The bamboo we saw growing here was of enormous size, and the Siamese use it for keeping water and for other domestic purposes. There was a bamboo bridge constructed over the Chekram stream but the elephants passed through the water. The Raja discovering this day that I had a pocket compass made a pretence of borrowing it from me and he did not return it again until I saw him at Bangkok.

THURSDAY 29th December. We left *Ban Chekram* at half past 7 a. m., at 8 crossed *Khlong Thathong*[n], a small stream, at 12 we passed near some hills, the road leading between two of them at some distance from each other, and about 3 p. m., arrived at our halting place near a village *Ban Kode*[o] on the side of a very rapid stream, *Khlong Koolut*, which we crossed. Our road this day passed over extensive uncultivated plains, but there was as usual some paddy cultivation around the village where we halted. Mr. Leal and some of the party were here attacked with fever.

n place of gold

o Place of fatigue or fatigue spot.

FRIDAY 30th December. We halted this day in consequence of some of the elephants being knocked up.

SATURDAY 31st December. We left *Ban Kode* at ½ past 6 a. m., at 10 crossed *Khlong Diulea*, at half past 10 *Khlong Sai*, at ½ past 11 *Khlong Ban priny*[p] and about 3 p. m. we arrived at our halting place near a small village *Ban Klung*[q]. The road this day passed through jungle, but level ground.

p 'Pring is a fruit the Malay Munnium or Rumunya, whence the name Romania is said to be taken.

q Khlung is cleared.

SUNDAY 1st January 1826. We left *Ban Klung* at ½ past 6 a. m., at 10 crossed *Khlong Hooee Youny reng*[r]. At 12 we saw a hill to our left, at 8 p. m. we arrived at our halting place on the right bank of a large river, *Khlong Thakham*[s], on the opposite side of which, towards the mouth of the river is a large town called *Ban Phoonphen*[t]. Our road this day passed through jungle and over some extensive uncultivated plains In the evening the Rajah took Mr. Leal and myself in a boat some way up the river.

r Hooee is deep and reng a vulture.

s Kham is to cross or across ferry.

t The steel or fine iron of this place is said to be the best in the Siamese Dominions. The swords of the great officers of the Court of Siam are manufactured of the steel procured here.

MONDAY 2d January 1826. We were detained this day in passing the elephants across the *Thakham*[u] which was broad and deep. The elephants were obliged to swim over it, and the baggage

u The Thakam discharges itself into the sea by 3 channels. At the mouth of the northern is situated Tha-

thong, a town forming the northern boundary of the Rajah of Ligor's Govt. The southern channel is the Bandon, which name indeed is often given to the whole. The Rajah stopped at the place where the river is usually crossed & where it bears the name of Tha Kham. This is known to be a large stream which leads to Pennom 3 days journey from Phoonga near Junk Ceylon. There are numerous islands off the mouth of the Bandon river named by Horsburgh and Valentyn Larchin Isles.

to be carried in boats. Mr. Leal and I attempted in a boat to go down to the mouth of the river, but it was too late in the day. We saw a branch of the river running down to the southward which we were told led to the town of *Bhandon*[v]. We visited the town of *Phoonphin* which contains about 1200 Siamese inhabitants under a Chinese officer, and the houses are on both sides of the river. We saw here several immense pieces of timber and some very long boats like those belonging to the Chiefs at Bangkok. Mr. Leal took an observation and made the Latitude 9°. 38′. 0″. The Rajah told me that this river *Thakham* is the northern boundary of his jurisdiction. This day some of the Rajah's followers were attacked with cholera, and I was requested to afford them medical aid, which I did with success.

v Don, inland-inside.

THURSDAY 3d January 1826. We started at 10 a. m. crossing *Khlong Thakham* in a boat, down the left bank of which river the road passed for some time. At 4 p. m. we arrived at our halting place near a small village, *Ban Kalok*. The road this day lay through immense plains with patches of paddy cultivation. At this place there was no houses erected for the accommodation of Mr. Leal and myself and we were obliged to shelter ourselves by putting our two houdahs together, which we covered with some attap leaves stitched together which the Raja had brought with him. The Rajah apologised for our bad accommodation, stating that as far as his authority extended he had been able to have provision made for us.

WEDNESDAY 4th January 1826. We started at 7 a. m., crossed a small river, and passed through a small village, the names of which I did not learn. We then passed through very extensive paddy fields

w close arranged.

and halted at 2 p. m. at *Phumrieng*[w], a small village situated inland of the town of Chhaiya. Shortly after the Rajah requested us to dress ourselves in our best suits and prepare to be introduced to the Siamese Governor of Chhaiya, who would come to pay his respects to the Rajah. In the evening we went to the Rajah's house and saw Phya Chhaiya, who showed himself to be inferior to the Rajah, sitting at a respectful distance and joining his hands together whenever he spoke. Phya Chhaiya is an elderly man, and seemed to show no curiosity about us.

THURSDAY 5th January 1826. We paid a visit this day to the town of *Chhaiya* which contains about 2008 inhabitants, some Chinese. Most of the houses were planked. The river of Chhaiya is a large broad deep steam, in which we saw some junks lying We did not cross it but passed, I suppose at the head of the river. We were told that this town exports a large quantity of paddy. We saw gambling shops in the town, and Chinese and Siamese busily engaged. The town of *Chh iya* is defended by a stockade fortification and we were told that the inhabitants in the province amount to 18 or 19000 souls, and that there is a great deal of trade here.[x] Mr. Leal made the latitute of Chhaiya 9°. 57′. 0″.

x As Mr Harris did not cross what he conceives to be the Chhaiya river the port of Chhaiya is probably nothing more than an arm of the sea supposed by him to be a river. A large broad stream as he describes it would most probably have come from the central mountains or far from the interior. Horsburgh and Valentyn have a place named Patanur near Chhaiya, whether a former town or some corruption we cannot learn. Much trade and intercourse pass through the Bandon river and thence, by means of elephants, between Chhaiya and Phoonga a town situated in the Bay of Bengal on the continent to the north of

FRIDAY 6th January 1826. We started from *Phumrieng* at ½ past 9, at ½ past 2 passed near a large stone hill, and at ½ past 4 arrived at our halting place near a small village, *Ban Tha Reua*[y], around which as usual, there was paddy cultivation.

SATURDAY 7th January 1826. At 8 a. m. we started, crossing a small stream, *Khlong Thareua*, and at 11 we arrived at the sea beach, along which and on the sands the road continued the

Junk Ceylon. The tin and other produce of which island, whenever required, are conveyed by this route to Bangkok.

whole of this day. We saw a prow under sail and the beach was beautiful, lined by Aran[z] trees, without any surf and the sand quite hard. We passed the mouths of two streams, *Kelong Kunthoree* and *Khlong Panke Doowut*, where the water being deep, the elephants were carried out into the sea. At 4 p. m. we halted on the sea shore where we were obliged to make temporary accomodation with howdahs and attaps. A party of the Rajah's followers went into the jungles and soon returned with posts and other materials with which they built him up a house in a short time. During the night we experienced a very heavy squall.

y Reua is a boat. A little to the southward of Tha Reua & close to the sea shore is a small town named Pansong.

z The Malay name for Casuarina Littorea.

SUNDAY 8th January 1826. At 7 a. m. we pursued our journey, which continued for an hour along the sea shore. We then turned inland and travelled through thick jungles until 5 p. m. when we passed through a village surrounded with paddy cultivation, at 6 we saw a high hill, and at 7 we arrived at our halting place on the right bank of a large river *Khlong Lang*[a] *Sewun*; on the other side of which is a pretty large village named *Lang Sewun*.

a Sewun is a garden.

MONDAY 9th January 1826. We halted this day, giving the elephants rest. I visited the village of *Lang Sewun*, which is surrounded with Durian and Beetlenut trees. There was a junk in the river which is a fine broad one. I saw Malay[b] in the village which contains about 600 inhabitants and exports principally beetle nut.

b We have been told that a colony of Malays under a Malay chief was within a few years back settled at a place called Rinnong or Rindong on the western shore of the Isthmus of Kraw, but that the Burmese attacked and laid it waste, when the inhabitants fled and settled at this place Lang Sewun. The name of Isthmus of Kraw appears to have been take from Kraw' which is said to be a small inland town between Chhalya and Choom phon, although not set down in any chart or map that we have ever seen. At Lang Sewun Horsburgh has a place named Penomxin, whe-

TUESDAY 10th January 1826. The elephants were early taken higher up the river to cross and we at ½ past 7 passed over in a boat. At ½ past 1 p. m. we crossed a small clear stream with a

ther a former town or some corruption of Lang Sewun or Chhoomphon we cannot learn. The Portuguese from whose charts Horsburgh probably took Penomxin use an x for the Siamese letter Chho.

sandy bottom, named *Khlong Thakho* and arrived at our halting place near a village on the other side, called *Thakho*. Our road this day passed over good even ground, with extensive paddy fields on each side.

WEDNESDAY 11th January 1826. We started at ½ past 7 a. m. and at 2 p. m. halted on the right bank of a stream *Khlong Suwi*, near a large village named *Suwi*, which contained, we were told, about 2000 inhabitants, and the Governor of which is a Phra. We also learnt that some of the Burmese inhabitants carried away from Mergui were in this town. The road this day was a good clear one with paddy fields on each side.

THURSDAY 12th January 1126. At ½ past 9 we crossed *Klong Suwi*[c] and at 1 p.m. halted on the right bank of a steam *Khlong Wisai*[d]. The road this day was of the same description as that on the preceding day. The Rajah did not stop at *Wisai* but went on we were told, to the next stage to *Chhoomphon*.

c Suwí is surf.

d Sai is land.

FRIDAY 13th January 1826. At ½ past 8 a.m. we crossed *Khlong Wisai*, and after passing through some jungle, we came to very extensive paddy cultivation, which surrounds the town of *Chhoomphon*, near and below which we halted at 6 p.m. on the right bank of the *Chhoomphon* river, at a place that had been prepared for the Rajah and where we again joined him.

SATURDAY 14th January 1826. We halted this day. The River *Chhoomphon* is extremely winding, with a sandy bottom, and we saw some junks above us, off the town of *Chhoomphon* where they must have gone up with a high tide, as at the place where we were the river was fordable. The banks were high and we saw no rocks. We could gain no

satisfactory information respecting the point desired by Captain Burney, whether it would be practicable to open a communication between this river and one on the opposite coast and so make a navigable canal across the Isthmus of Kraw. Phya Kray[d] the Governor of *Chhoomphon* attended by some men with musquets waited on the Rajah who introduced us to him. He did not seem to show the same respect to the Rajah as the Governor of Chhaiya had done.

I asked the Rajah here to forward to Mr. Maingy at Mergui a letter which Captain Burney had entrusted to me, but be assured me that this could not be done, as very positive orders had been sent down to Phya Kray from Bangkok desiring him to prevent all communication between the Siamese and the inhabitants of the English territories. From this day the Rajah began to show a good deal of reserve and distrust towards us, and we understood that he had received unpleasant letters from Siam. In the evening I visited the town of *Chhoomphon* which, though stockaded in the manner as *Chhaiya*, did not appear to contain so many or such good houses. The only brick building is a temple. The inhabitants were said to amount to about 7 or 8000. We saw no Chinese here. We did not see any of the Burmese prisoners, but we heard that there were a good many at *Chhoomphon*. Mr. Leal made the Latitude of *Chhoomphon*[e] 10°. 55′. 0″.

SUNDAY 12th January 1826. At ½ past 7 a.m. we crossed the *Chhoomphon*

[d] This person is the Phra Khlang of the Wangna or Grand Prince of Siam and he was specially sent down from Bangkok with a reinforcement of troops to defend Chhoomphon after the former Siamese Governor had made an irruption into the Anglo-Burmese territory and carried away the inhabitants of Tenasserim and many villages around it. The Governor of Chhoomphon was sent up to the capital where he died in confinement. At Choomphon the Siamese forces destined to attack the Burmese at Mergui always assembled & the Phya or Govr. was entrusted by the Court of Siam with the duty of watching the Burmese on the Coast of Tenasserim. Since the Burmese invasion of Siam under Alompra the Siamese Dominions on the Eastern shore of the Gulf between Ligor and the capital is remarkably thinly peopled and Ligor itself has but a scanty population. The Govr. of Chhoomphon it is said is not allowed to trade, and that place since the conquest by the Burmese of Mergui and Tavoy, appears to have been converted into a purely military post or garrison. This accounts for the absence of Chinese and for the entire cessation of that valuable trade which formerly passed Mergui and the Gulf of Siam.

[e] Horsburgh has a place called Bardia here, a corruption of Bandon Ban Chhaiya Pothiu, or what we cannot discover.

river and pursued our route through paddy fields and some times jungle, until ½ past 5, when we halted near a small village surrounded as usual with paddy cultivation and named *Bang soon*[f].

[f] Bang is a rivulet—soon is the Siamese name for the Malay aran tree.

MONDAY 16th January 1826. We started at 7 a.m. passing over a good even road with jungle however on each side, until ½ past 3, when we halted at the head of a small river called *Pathiu*, near the south of which is a small village of the same name containing about 200 Chinese and Siamese inhabitants employed in fishing and making Balachan[g], which is conveyed to Bangkok. The Siamese Chief of the village, *Phra Pathiu*,* came to pay his respects to the Rajah towards whom the *Phra* showed more humble reverence than any other Siamese Chief we had seen. The *Phra* of *Pathiu** appeared a quiet mild character of about 52 years of age, and as he had never seen a white face before, he displayed great curiosity respecting the colour of our skin and our dress and customs. On another occasion when I paid him a visit he made me bare my arm and called his women out to see me and they appeared highly delighted.

[g] A kind of caviare.

[*] ? Pathiu and see infrn.

Late this night the Raja of Ligor sent for me, and with a great deal of kindness and address invited me to inform him truly, whether Captain Burney had appointed me and Mr. Leal to accompany him overland for the purpose of ascertaining the route, and examining the state of the country. The Rajah then made many excuses, complaining that all his elephants were knocked up, and that he would be under the necessity of requesting Mr. Leal and myself to proceed from Pathiu to Bangkok in a boat. He begged of me not to be uneasy, that he would appoint some of his best and confidential men to accompany us, that the *Phra* of *Pathiu* had procured a very good and safe boat, and would direct his own son to go with us. The Rajah pointed out to me to notice the very

great trouble and inconvenience to which his desire of fulfilling his engagement with Captain Burney had subjected him, in travelling over such a miserable country and during such bad weather.

TUESDAY 17th January 1826. Finding privately from some of the Rajah's followers that he had received positive orders from Bangkok, prohibiting his taking us with him overland, and seeing him extremely uneasy and anxious, we made up our minds to proceed by sea. To own the truth, I did not regret the conclusion of my land journey. Mr. Leal and I were on separate elephants by ourselves. The elephants had Siamese howdahs with covers and when tired of sitting we could double up our legs and lie down. Although the animals were very quiet and tame, yet their motion was extremely slow and rough, and in difficult roads most fatiguing and painful. The road was so bad that not a day passed without the Rajah being obliged to leave some of his elephants behind and get others in their room from the inhabitants of the villages.

We examined the boat which was 40 feet long but narrow and carried 14 oars. There was a kind of cabin put up for us, and the Rajah certainly took every pains to make us satisfied, directing the *Phra* of *Pathiu* to supply us with every thing that could be procured, and treat us with great respect and attention.

WEDNESDAY 18th January 1826. About 8 a.m. the Rajah of Ligore took leave of us very kindly and pursued his route by land. He left 25 of his followers with a Siamese officer, *Nai Sirootha*[h], and his Dobash, *Sultan Shaw*, a native of the coast of Coromandel, who had usually served as interpreter between us and who seemed to possess much of the

h **Nai is a head man or chief of a Dept. &c.**

Rajah's confidence. The Raja left some of his sick followers also to proceed by sea, in another boat in company with us. We embarked in the boat at ½ past 3 p.m. and dropped down to the village of *Pathiu*, where after having procured all our provisions &c. we were detained until the 27th by strong easterly winds. The village as was before said, contains about 200 inhabitants, occupied principally in fishing. The river is narrow and shallow and at the mouth of it is an extensive mud flat containing beds of oysters. At some distance to the southward, there is another flat, in which cockles of various descriptions are procured. To the north the coast is studded with rocks. There is no good water near *Pathiu* and the inhabitants are obliged to bring what they use from some distance inland. Mr. Leal made the Latitude of Pathiu 51°. 10′. 0″.

FRIDAY 27th January 1826. The bad weather abating we left *Pathiu* at 12 a.m. and after rowing for three hours we anchored close to the shore, being obliged to wait for the boat conveying some of the Rajah's sick followers. At 9 p.m. there being a fine breeze, Mr. Leal who took charge of navigating the boat insisted upon proceeding, and we then set sail.

SATURDAY 28th January 1826 We continued under sail all this day in sight of the coast, which appeared low. Mr. Leal accidentally discovered among *Nai Sirootha's* baggage a Siamese black book, containing copies of some letters which the Rajah of Ligore was sending to Bangkok with us. The letters excused the Rajah as much as possible for having proposed to bring us overland, stating that we had been forced upon him but that he had given us no opportunity of seeing the proper route between Ligor and Bangkok and suggesting that our papers should be seized and examined on our arrival at *Pak nam*.

SUNDAY 29th January 1826. We came in sight of the mountains called Samroiyot[i] "300 peaks," at the foot of which at a small village of the same name we anchored about 4 p.m. to take in water. We found here that the Rajah had passed by land but had kindly left a supply of provisions for our use. At 7 p.m. we again got under weigh and continued our course along the coast where it was so steep and rough that I thought if the boat met with any accident, I should never be able to get ashore[j].

MONDAY 30th January 1826. On this day Mr. Leal, who had a compass and quadrant with him, finding that the passage along the coast would be unnecessarily long and tedious, obliged the boatmen to steer a more easterly course and direct for the mouth of the *Menam*[k]. The boatmen objected much and towards evening a stiff breeze coming on, the boat, which had no keel, could not keep her course and was driven to leeward until 10 p. m. when she got aground on the mud flat between the mouths of the *Thachin*[l] and *Menam* rivers, where we were detained all that night.

TUESDAY 31st 7anuary 1826. Fortunately the boat met with no injury and was easily got off at 6 this morning. Between 8 and 9 we entered the Menam and shortly after we anchored off the Fort of *Paknam*[m]. Mr. Leal and I went ashore and visited the Governor or Phya of Paknam who showed a disposition to detain us until he received orders from Bangkok respecting us. But in consequence of the information which we had collected from the copies of

i Sam 3, roi hundred, and yot peaks. This is Kempfer's "Samajotn" and the "Mountains of Pensels" of Portugueze charts. All junks bound to China or Cochin China from Bangkok, steer along the western coast as far as Sam roi yot, where they fill up their water and then strike across the Gulf of Siam, due east. It is said that the Portugueze call these mountains Pluthes or combs from their points being arranged serrated on the same line like the teeth of a comb.

j Near Samroiyot is a Siamese village called Kooi or Cai, which Mr. Crawfurd justly supposes must have converted into the Ciu of European navigators and of Horsburgh's chart, by some writer marking the i in the wrong place. Loubere writes it in his map Couil, but Captn. Hamilton calls it Cui and Kempfer Kui. The last mentioned author describes "the coast hereabouts as very steep and rocky and not unlike those of Sweden."

k Me mother, nam water the name given to the largest river in Siam or any other country.

l "Chinese place." On this river and particularly at a place called Nakhon chaisi reside the principal manufacturers of sugar who are all Chinese.

m Pak mouth, & nam water or river. The title of Chao Phya is generally added to the mouth of the Menam by way of distinction, & this is Kempfer's Pagnam Tonfia.

the Rajah of Ligor's letters we made a pretext for returning to the boat and set sail for Bangkok where we arrived opposite Captain Burney's house about 10 o'clock at night.

INTRODUCTION.

Captain Burney engaged as one of his interpreters, Francis Joseph Leal, a native of the Azores, who had gone to Bangkok viâ Macao and had resided in Siam for nearly 6 years and who happened to be at Singapore as an officer on board a free trader. Mr. Leal's knowledge of the language, and character of the people of Siam, as well as his strict integrity, general intelligence, and fearlessness of character, rendered him of infinite use. He was always employed when any disagreeable communication was to be made to the Siamese Ministers, and when no other interpreter would venture to interpret the whole of what was said. Shortly after his arrival at Bangkok from Ligor, he was selected to take charge of a large party of Burmese prisoners which it became necessary to send back to Mergui overland. Although the Siamese Ministers had at length been persuaded to release these people; some apprehension was entertained that during their route to Mergui, the subordinate Siamese officers might attempt to detain some of them, and Mr. Leal was considered a very fit person to prevent such proceedings. He was requested to keep a diary in his native Portuguese language and how well he executed the service entrusted to him will appear from a perusal of his journal, of which the following translation was made through the kindness of Mr. Swinton. A few explanatory notes only have been added and the orthography of the names adapted to the English language.

Mr. Leal had an opportunity of visiting the whole line of the Siamese frontier from Martaban to *Pak-chan* below Mergui. The topographical knowledge which

he had thus acquired made him an object of great jealousy and dislike to the Siamese Ministers, who proposed a very insidious scheme for detaining him in the country and preventing his leaving it with the British Mission. The scheme however was discovered and Mr. Leal was brought away and transferred to Mr. Commissioner Maingy at Tavoy, where he is now employed.

During his journey from Ligor to *Pathiu* Mr. Leal had a quadrant with him by which he ascertained the latitude of several place between those towns, but unfortunately, at the time he made the journeys described in this journal, he had no means of taking correct observations.

He left Bangkok with 541 Burmese prisoners in 6 junks on the 13th February 1826, sailed from the bar on the 23rd, and arrived on the 1st of March at *Bangnarom*, in about latitude 11°. 50′. 0″. on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam, whence he commences the following journals.

(Signed) H. Burney Captain.

ROUTE from *Bangnarom* to *Mergui* by land.

TUESDAY 4th March 1826. I set out from *Bangnarom* for *Mergui* accompanied by 541 Burmese including men, women and children at 5 o'clock in the morning. I found the road bad to the extent of two miles and afterwards proceeded 7 miles with the advantage of a good road. I reached a field at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, where there was good water. There I halted until about 4 o'clock and resumed my march until 9 at night, when I arrived at a place where there was a pool. There I passed the night under some apprehension lest the Siamese might kidnap some of the people and as a precaution I placed 20 sentinels.

March 5th. I set out at ½ past 4 o'clock in the morning, met with good road the whole day until ½ past 6 o'clock in the evening, when I found very bad water and was obliged to pass the night there. In this place were two roads, one which I was obliged to pursue, and the other leading to *Banthaphan*. In the same place are two large trees, one to the right and the other to the left. The latter is marked with four crosses, denoting the day of the month and the year, and stands on the road to *Bangthaphan*. The former is marked with two crosses and stands on the road leading to Mergui.

March 6th. I set out at 5 o'clock in the morning and marched until 9 at night. Notwithstanding all my exertions I could get no water during the day, the heat was insupportable and our thirst equally so. I was obliged, as well as those who accompanied me to pass the night without food, but the road good.

March 7th. I set out at 4 o'clock in the morning; at 9 we met with two roads, one leading to the east and the other S. S. E. As I did not know which of them to select I was obliged to remain there the whole day and send forward 20 persons each way to ascertain the route to Mergui. Those who advanced by the S. S. E. returned at four in the afternoon with the information that the road did not continue beyond a certain point. Those who pursued the Eastern Route arrived at 9 in the night with the intelligence that the road continued in a right line. There I passed the night without the occurrence of any thing particular. In this place there is excellent water, a small field, and a large stone to the left with one of its points fractured, which constitutes the mark of the road to Mergui.

March 8th. I set out at half past three o'clock in the morning and arrived at the foot of a mountain

called *Khao Kasoon*[a] at 11 in the forenoon. There I found a small stream on the banks of which I desired the people to dress their rice and refresh themselves until 4 o'clock in the afternoon when I resumed my journey. At 5 I crossed the mountain *Khoo Kassoon* with extreme difficulty in the ascent and descent. At ½ past 10 o'clock at night I arrived in a field where there was a tamarind tree on the right side of the road. There I passed the night without any further occurrence.

a Khao is the Siamese word for mountain, Kasoon is a ball or pellet.

March 9th. I set out at 4 o'clock in the morning and at 9 arrived in a field where I found three tamarind[b] trees, and a beautiful stream. There I desired the people to dress their rice, and as soon as they had done I resumed my journey until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when I reached a pagoda, where the people entreated me to halt during the night to enable them to adore their divinity. In that spot are 5 mango trees.

b These trees are said to mark in this direction the boundary of the Siamese & Burmese territories & the place is said to be called Sing Khon thee phe.

March 10th. I set out at 5 in the morning and met with good road the whole day until 7 at night, when I reached the vicinity of the Tenasserim River. There I passed the night.

March 11th. At 1 o'clock in the night I called the people and desired them to fell bamboos for the purpose of making floats to go down to Mergui and as the river was very narrow it became necessary to make floats of 10 bamboos. There were in all 75. On this day great inconvenience was experienced from the many trees which I encountered in the said river. At 4 in the afternoon 2 lads died of fever. At 6 I halted and passed the night there[c].

c The Burmese inhabitants of Mergui go up the Tenasserim River as far nearly as the Latitude of Tavoy to cut Sapan wood, which they bring down the stream in long narrow floats of bamboos. Mr. Leal supposed that the stream on which he had here embarked was the main branch of the Tenasserim &

March 12th. I continued my journey down the river, but with difficulty, meeting with some wide plains whose names I could not ascertain.

March 13th. I set out at 5 in the morning and at 2 in the afternoon saw a Burmese fishing boat and availed myself of it to transmit a letter to Mergui, apprizing the Governor of my approach from Siam and that I required transports for the conveyance of the Burmese prisoners who were with me.

March 15th. At 3 in the morning 20 boats approached my float from Mergui, bringing 50 sepoys, 1 subadar and an officer[d]. I enquired of him whence he came, and whither he was going. He replied that he came to survey the river, and to ascertain who the persons were on those floats. After some complimentary expressions he withdrew, and I continued my voyage towards Mergui.

March 15th. I arrived at Mergui at 8 in the morning and waited on Captain Briggs[e] the Governor. We were engaged in conversation for 2 hours after which I took leave of him and at 8 in the night embarked for Tavoy. I commenced my route from *Bangnarom* accompanied by 541 Burmese and arrived with 537.

ROUTE from Mergui to Tavoy and back by sea.

March 16th 1826. At 8 o'clock in the night I embarked for Tavoy and used our oars the whole night. At 8 in the morning we had a little easterly wind until 11, when it shifted and we could not sail. We rowed the whole of the afternoon. At 6 my people were quite

that the road from Bangnarom led so much to the northward as is described in the accompanying Geographical Sketch. But some of the more intelligent Burmese prisoners declared at Bangkok that the stream on which they would have to embark was a small branch of the Tenasserim, issuing from the central mountains & falling into that river near the old city of Tenasserim.

d This party most probably came from Tenasserim at which a small force had been posted after the Siamese Govr. of Chhoomphon had the year before plundered it.

e Of the Madras 13th Regt. & Asst. to Mr. Maingy. Mr. Leal, allowing for the detention of 3 days at Bangnarom & of the great portion of the 4th & 8th days route, whilst engaged in ascertaining the direction of the road & constructing bamboo floats, was about 16 days from the bar of the Menam to Mergui, but his progress was necessarily slow owing to the number of women and children among the Burmese prisoners and we were informed that the Kaseon hill might have been crossed at a more easy pass. There are 2 instances on record of the journey between the old capital of Siam and Mergui, at the time the French were driven out of it having been made in 10 days & on one of these occasions the party consisted of prisoners in chains escorted by

fatigued and we were obliged to rest until 10 when we resumed our voyage.

March 17th. At 4 in the afternoon I passed the mouth of the River *Pulloh* and there found the water favorable during half an hour. At half past 5 in the afternoon a violent storm arose from the N. E. accompanied with heavy rain. This continued till ½ past 8 at night, when the weather cleared up, but at midnight it again became cloudy.

March 18th. I continued advancing until 1 at night, when I passed the river of *Pambu*. At the mouth of it is a small bay, about 20 or 25 houses, and and from 30 to 40 persons, who come and reside there for the purpose of selling fish at Tavoy and Mergui. There I remained nearly two hours until my people refreshed themselves, and then resumed my voyage. The wind blew the whole night from the S. W. without any land breeze. Towards the morning there was a calm until 12, when it again blew fresh from the same point S. W. At 4 I saw the mouth of the river of Tavoy, and at 7 entered the bar where a two masted vessel lay at anchor, with sails resembling a schooner and a long boat. As I was in want of water I went on board of the above mentioned vessel to get some. I saw 2 Chulias who told me that they had no water and that 2 gentlemen were in a small cabin. I enquired their names, but could get no information on that head. I withdrew, and as it was low water I was obliged to wait for the flood tide, when I resumed my voyage.

* a detachment of Siamese soldiers (See p. 383 & 384 Modern Universal History, vol. 7, ed. 1759.) Mr. Crawfurd was informed that the late King of Siam had constructed a military road from Muang Mai, a little above Bangnarom towards Mergui for the purpose of invading the Burmese territories, and that this road would admit elephants & even wheeled carriages. But in former times there appears to have been a carriage road between the Gulf of Siam and Tenasserim, as in a letter from the Bishop of Tabraca from Siam in 1761, published in vol. 5 of the Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes, page 377, we find the following passage: "J'y ai envoye M. Martin (a Merguy.) il alla jusqu'a Piply lou l'on a coutume de quitter des bateaux et y attendit inutilement les charettes pendant trois semaines." Piply is the Siamese Phriphri, a large town on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam, in about Lat. 13°. 20' and once the capital of the Siamese Empire. It is to be hoped that our officers at Mergui will shortly be able to reopen and reestablish these old and almost forgotten roads into the rich kingdom of Siam and thus revive the ancient and valuable commerce which was conducted with Siam through this channel first by the Portuguese and afterwards by the French.

March 19th. At 8 in the morning I reached Tavoy and immediately waited on Mr. Maingy[f] the Governor, who received the letters of which I was the bearer from Siam, and we then proceeded to breakfast. Mr. Maingy informed me that he had received letters from Captain Burney in which he suggested the expediency of sending me to *Chhoomphon* for the purpose of receiving the remainder of the prisoners who were still there. I agreed and after breakfast Mr. Maingy went to prepare the letters which he intended to send to the Governor of *Chhoomphon* of which there were three, one written in English, one in Malay, and the other in the Siamese language, together with a pair of double barrel pistols. I took leave of him at 10 in the night, when I set out from Tavoy for Mergui, and from thence to *Chhoomphon*. It was fine weather during the day and at midnight it rained a little. At Tavoy I was informed by Mr. Maingy that some of the people were very ill disposed and that they had twice attempted to set fire to the city, in which they could not succeed owing to the apprehension of the ringleaders[g].

[f] of the Penang Service and at present the very able Civil Commissioner of the Ceded Territory.

[g] Some of the Chiefs of the former Burmese Govt. were secretly working upon the hopes & fears of the inhabitants of Tavoy, who however since those Chiefs were removed to Rangoon have shown themselves to be a very quiet and peaceable race & delighted with the change of ruler.

March 20th. My people had no sleep during the night. I reached the bar in the morning. At 9 o'clock the sea breeze began to spring up, the tide was against us. At 2 in the afternoon I espied a vessel to the westward of the Island of Tavoy. At 5 o'clock we could see her distinctly. She proved to be a brig bound to Tavoy. There was a calm all night until 12, when a land breeze sprung up. Prior to this, at ½ past 11 o'clock I passed close by a little boat in an inverted position, but saw no body, or any thing which could lead me to believe that any serious loss had taken place, and as it was night I could not examine minutely. In the morning there was an appearance of a severe storm from the N. W. At 8 all was dispelled and at 10 the wind increased from the South. At 3 o'clock I reached Mergui and proceeded

to deliver the letters which I brought from Tavoy to the Governor of Mergui, who immediately desired me to examine and collect all the Burmese boats which were capable of proceeding to *Pak Chan*. This order I instantly executed.

March 21st. At an early hour in the morning I began to make arrangements for proceeding to *Chhoomphon* and found not more than 12 boats adapted for the purpose, which I endeavoured to get ready with 112 Burmese. Prior to this, at 11 in the morning I went to prepare 4 boats for the Siamese prisoners who were at Mergui, and to see that they were supplied with the following articles of provisions for the voyage, viz. rice, fish, beetle-nut and chunam, *balachan*, &c.; all their muskets, blunderbusses, spears and all other articles belonging to the said Siamese prisoners were delivered to them. At 8 in the night every thing was ready, but I was detained until the next morning in consequence of a heavy fall of rain.

March 22d. I could not set out in consequence of the continuance of the rain, strong winds and a heavy sea. Thus it continued until 11 at night. Towards the morning of the 23d the weather improved.

ROUTE from Mergui to *Chhoomphon* along the coast by sea as far as the mouth of the *Pak Chan* River, then up that river to the Siamese post of *Pak Chan* about the centre of the Isthmus of Kraw and thence by land to *Chhoomphon* on the west Coast of the Gulf of Siam, and back to Mergui in the same way.

March 23rd. At 8 o'clock in the morning twelve Burmese boats were ready with 112 men, and four Siamese boats with 109[h] Siamese Prisoners, who were returning to their native country. At 11 o'clock we set sail for *Pak Chan*. The Burmese boats

h These were the 4 boats and men of the Govr. of Chhoomphon's fleet captured by Lieut. Drever of the Madras 19th Regt. whom Major Frith of H. M. 38th had

sent out with a detachmt. of sepoys to put a stop to the Siamese depredations in the vicinity of Mergui in the month of March 1825.

1 Fresh Water Island.

were very small and moved slowly Those of the Siamese were large and very swift. At 4 in the afternoon I lost sight of them, and conclude that they took the way of *Ko Nam.*[1] It rained heavily the whole night.

March 24th. During the day we used sails and oars. At 4 in the afternoon I passed *Ko Nam Cheut* At midnight I reached a place where the Burmese had formerly a Factory. There I reposed during the night and found a large bank of oysters and fresh water.

25th March 1826. At 4 in the morning I resumed my voyage. During the day the wind was variable with a strong current to the south. At 6 in the afternoon I reached the mouth of the river[j] and was obliged to pass the night waiting for the flood tide.

j The exact situation and name of this river are as yet unknown. It is however sometimes called Pak Chan and may be that termed the Chilinga in some Charts. In a Burmese map a place called Channa is put down at the mouth of this river and a little to the northward of the island, we have heard, some ruins of a large town named Chuddine are still visible. But this Coast was never surveyed and the whole of it between Mergui and Pak Chan is said to be intersected by innumerable channels and creeks. The large river noticed by Captn. Forrest as nearly opposite the north end of St. Mathew's Island would appear to be lower down the coast (See his chart of the Mergui Archipelago.) Many native travellers declare that nothing would be easier than to make a navigable canal thro' the Isthmus of Kraw by joining the Pak Chan and Chhoomphon rivers. Mr. Leal who was requested to examine this matter confirms all the statements previously received and declares that

March 26th. At 1 o'clock at night it began to be high water whilst I advanced up the river sounding from 5 to 10 fathoms. The river is immensely wide. I was obliged to await the return of the flood tide until 10 at night. 4 of the boats which accompanied me were left behind.

March 27th. At 2 in the night I resumed my journey. At ½ past 3 o'clock I reached *Pak Chan*, went ashore, and proceeded to examine the place. I met 8 Burmese boats and 11 belonging to the Siamese; at the same time I heard some one call out at a short distance in the Siamese language to know who were the people and whose the boats that had arrived there. I replied they were Burmese coming from Mergui and proceeding to *Chhoomphon* in the service of the Company. They enquired what the

the Pak Chan is a beautiful broad and deep river throughout; that the Chhoomphon is very sinuous in its course with a sandy bed, but that there are no rocks in either river or hilly ground between them, and that in fact even now, during the spring tides the two rivers often unite. Mr. Maingy is about to ascertain this interesting point. Dr Hamilton in the 18th number of the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal notices a communication by water as existing through the Isthmus of Kraw but his information placed it near Junk Ceylon.

nature of the service was. I did not wish to state this, but invited them to my boat to hold a conversation. They declined doing so. On my enquiring who they were they answered they were guards posted to watch in that quarter. In the mean time they withdrew. At 5 in the morning I pursued my journey on foot toward *Chhoomphon* accompanied by 38 Burmese and after a quarter of an hour's progress, I saw at a distance three persons who, on coming near us, enquired of us whither we were proceeding. I replied towards *Chhoomphon* and requested of them to show me the way. They told me to follow them. I did so until 10 o'clock in the forenoon when I lost sight of them. During the day I met very bad roads. At 9 in the night I halted and at 11 about 7 or 800 Siamese approached me with a Chief named *Belat Krom*[k] who came from *Chhoomphon* to ascertain what I wanted. I replied that I was deputed by the Governor of Tavoy to receive the Burmese Prisoners who were at *Chhoomphon*. He informed me that they had already gone away. On my asking how many there were, he answered 300 and said further that the Governor of *Chhoomphon* was at *Pathiu*, and that he was going to *Chhoomphon* to send for him. He withdrew at 12. All his followers were armed with muskets, swords and spears. It rained the whole of that day and night.

k Deputy of the Department.

March 28th. At 4 in the morning I resumed my journey until 9 when I reached *Khao Poon*[l], where I was received by nearly 3000 Siamese. I halted and met *Phra Seni*. He asked me what number of men I brought with me. I told him to reckon, when he ascertained there were 38. He then asked me what was my object in coming there. I replied that I was to receive the Burmese prisoners who were at

l Chalk or Chunam Hill.

Chhoomphon. He told me they were all sent away to Mergui to the number of 450. On my asking him if I could proceed to *Chhoomphon*, he answered that the Governor was absent, that he was the person who officiated now in that capacity, that there was no place ready for my reception and that I should wait until 4 in the afternoon to enable him in the mean time to prepare a place. He then withdrew with his people. After 4 o'clock I advanced and in half an hour reached a large rice field where I saw about 7 or 8000 Siamese all armed and with different uniforms, some red, some green, and others white. Among them were three Chiefs *Phra Siri*, *Phoo Chwai*[m] and *Belat Krom*. I was received at that place by the whole of those people. They were all seated but on my reaching the centre of the assembly they rose and accompanied me to a straw hut, in a corner of which was a bamboo mat to sit upon. I then learned that this was the place intended for my residence until the arrival of of Phya or Governor of *Chhoomphon*. I observed to the three Chiefs that the place in question was more a sty, than a habitation for human beings. They told me not to be impatient. That they would be with me day and night until the arrival of the *Phya Chhoomphon*. They ordered boiled rice for 38 Burmese, but it proved insufficient even for 10. There I passed the night accompanied by the said Siamese Chiefs.

m **Man who assists-Assistant.**

March 29th. In the morning the Chiefs told me that a place was now ready within the city for my abode, but as it was raining violently at this time I was advised to wait until the cessation of the rain, which continued till 2 in the afternoon. At this period arrived *Phya Krai*[m], the Governor of *Chhoomphon*, who said that he came from *Pathiu*, an assertion not to be credited, since that is 2 days' journey by land and he spent only 12 hours on the route. He entered a pagoda and sent a message to apprize me of his arrival and invited me to meet him. I immediately waited on him and found him cleaning a

m **The same person whom Messrs. Harris & Leal saw before on their route from Ligor. He returned to Bangkok before the mission left it.**

tobacco pipe. He enquired about the Burmese War. I replied that peace was already concluded and that the Burmese were ready to pay all the expenses incurred by the company, and that they had actually discharged a great part thereof. I delivered to him 3 letters, one in English, 1 in Malay, and the other in Siamese, the last of which he read and enquired what the other 2 contained. I explained to him that they were in tenor precisely the same as the one he had perused. He mentioned that the Burmese prisoners had been sent to Mergui and that there was not one at *Chhoomphon*. I told him that I suspected that at that place there were many Burmese whom he should deliver over to me. He swore it was not so. I remarked that he should be cautious since I came with 112 Burmese in 12 boats at the cost of the Company and should it hereafter be discovered that any of the Burmese Prisoners remained behind either through forgetfulness or design the Company would exact payment of all expenses incurred in this expedition. *Phya Chhoomphan* laughed heartily at this declaration and ordered 4 trays of eatables of different kinds, but I pretended illness and said I had no appetite under an apprehension of some deceit which the Siamese are very capable of practising. He said there was not a suitable place ready for my reception, but I must have patience and go back to the quarters where I had already abode. I then told him to prepare his letters and it was my intention to return to Mergui on the following day. I took leave and returned back to the straw hut.

March 30th. At 4 o'clock in the morning I got my people ready to depart. 8 of the Burmese requested leave to go and buy tobacco which I granted. Five minutes after they returned, saying they were stopped in the way by 30 Siamese. I prohibited them from going out any more. At 10 the Governor sent for me and told me that his letter was prepared and 2

elephants were ready to conduct me as far as *Pak Chan*. I offered him my acknowledgments, received his letter and took leave accompanied by *Phra Siri* and *Belat Krom*. On my complaining of my boats being very small and expressing my anxiety to proceed expeditiously, they offered me one of the Siamese boats which had come from Mergui. I was accompanied by 50 Siamese and 2 elephants, but the road being bad we could not reach *Pak Chan* that day. At 7 in the evening I halted and passed the night in the field under incessant rain.

March 31st. I set out at 6 o'oclock in the morning and arrived at *Pak Chan* at 2 in the afternoon. I was immediately informed that the Burmese had robbed the Siamese of some articles. I punished them in the presence of the Siamese who had accompanied me, in order that they might see that I have not come to deprive them of their property but to perform my duty in a friendly manner.

3 points.

April 1st. I set out at 6 o'clock and arrived at a place called by the Siamese *Sam Yot*[n]. I observed it to be in ruins. I could get no water. At 5 in the afternoon I got out of the mouth of the river and was exposed during the night to an easterly wind. The boats which accompanied me remained astern.

April 2d. The whole of this day I navigated with oars. In the afternoon I came in sight of a large vessel near an island, 4 miles off, called by the Siamese *Rang Noke*, whither I steered my course. In the mean time the wind freshened from the E. N. E. and the vessel trimmed her sails and disappeared. I was therefore unable to ascertain what ship it was, whence she came or whither she was bound. At 6 I came in sight of an Island called by the Siamese *Ko Vat* or Pagoda Island. During the night there was a calm.

April 3d. In the morning there was a strong current and I was obliged to wait until the setting

in of the ebb tide, which took place at 11 in the morning. I then resumed my journey. At ½ past 4 in the afternoon I arrived at Mergui, where I understood 53 Burmese had arrived and on enquiring how many the Siamese had released I was informed only 53 and that several had proceeded to Bangkok but the number could not be ascertained.° The above mentioned 53 Burmese complained that they were prohibited from pursuing the route of *Pak Chan* by *Phya Krai* who sent 8 Siamese to accompany them, in order that they may proceed by no other road than that of *Bangnarom* and that they were not supplied with any provision except a bag of rice. This scanty supply restricted them to one meal in 24 hours. They (the Burmese) complained also that all their wearing apparel had been stolen as well as their knives (it being the practice of every Burman to carry one with him) and on requesting the restoration of these articles they were threatened with punishment.

° The Burmese prisoners at Chhoomphon had been sent back in small parties at different intervals and it is satisfactory to know that the whole 237 arrived at Mergui after Mr. Leal left it although the jealousy of the Siamese Chief of Chhoomphon had forced them to take a month's journey via Bangnarom instead of the direct and easy route of a week or 10 days from Pak Chan to Mergui.

ROUTE from Mergui to Tavoy by Sea.

April 4th 1826. At 4 in the afternoon my boat was ready to sail for Tavoy, but I could not move as the letters of the Governor were not yet ready.

April 5th. I waited the whole of this day for the letters of the Governor which did not come into my possession until 9 at night when I myself went to receive charge of them and of a packet of books for Mr. Blundell.

April 6th. I set out at 9 in the night with the ebbtide having 20 oars to my boat. In the morning I came in sight of the bar of *Pulloh*. I wished to go to *Pulloh* in consequence of my having heard at Mergui that Mr. Maingy had gone there. At midday I reached the bar of *Pulloh* and entered. I discovered a boat coming out which informed me that Mr. Maingy

had proceeded to *Pambu*. I returned. At 10 in the night I reached the mouth of that river and the huts of fishermen, who apprized me that Mr. Maingy had gone to the Island of Tavoy. I instantly set out for that quarter, to meet that gentleman if possible. *Pulloh* it is said contains from 7 to 800 souls and several habitations.

April 7th and 8th. (Note – The writer, after detailing some unimportant circumstances relating to his progress reports his arrival at Tavoy, where he was informed that Mr. Maingy had not yet arrived.).

April 9th. At 7 in the morning I waited on Mr. Blundell [p] who informed me that Mr. Maingy had not yet arrived and that he could not arrange matters until the arrival of that gentleman or the issue of his instructions. At 9 o'clock after breakfast, I proceeded to interpret a letter which came from *Chhoomphon*. Mr. Blundell told me that he wished to send a copy of that document to Mr. Maingy. At 12 it was ready, but it could not immediately be forwarded as some other public dispatches were not yet prepared. It was fair weather and I took a walk with Mr. Blundell and 4 other gentlemen, namely, Captain. Paynton, the Master Attendant &c. At 7 we returned and went to dinner.

[p] **Of the Penang Civil Service and Assistant to Mr. Maingy.**

April 10th. Mr. Blundell dispatched a boat with a letter to Mr. Maingy. At 10 o'clock there arrived a boat from Rangoon with passengers who having heard that the English were about to deliver over the country to the Burmese did not wish to continue there, and they furnished the intelligence that all the inhabitants of Rangoon were desirous of leaving the place, some flying to Martaban, some to Tavoy and others to Mergui.

April 11th. Two more boats arrived from Rangoon full of passengers. They brought advices that a vessel remained there to receive troops for

Martaban, that several other boats would arrive in the course of 4 or 5 days with Burmese passengers, and that when the boats above alluded to left Rangoon 8 vessels lay at anchor there, 3 belonging to the Company and 5 Merchantmen.

April 12th. At 4 in the afternoon Mr. Maingy arrived from *Pambu*. He was employed the whole day in writing letters to Rangoon and could not dispatch me on that day. Captn. Warwick of the Ship Carnatic discharged the Company's cargo, consisting of canvas, cordage &c, and shipped rice. The weather proved fair during the day, but it rained a little at night.

April 13th. At 10 o'clock two boats arrived from Mergui bound to Martaban for the purchase of rice. At 2 in the afternoon there arrived a Chinese Junk from Penang bringing 4 Chinese carpenters and some Chinese passengers. I was detained in consequence of Mr. Maingy not having time to complete the letters for Siam. I heard at 11 at night of the seizure of 2 thieves. It was fair weather during the day, and it rained all night.

April 14th. The rain continued until 4 in the afternoon. Mr. Maingy was all day employed in writing to Rangoon. At night there was an order for doubling the number of sentinels and after 8 o'clock no person could admit any one within doors without the written permission of the Governor.

April 15th. At 8 in the morning I received orders from Mr. Maingy to get my boat ready to proceed to Martaban. I then went to receive some cordage and half a piece of canvas, the latter for the purpose of making a field tent, and also some sail thread; all these were out of the Company's stores. At midday every thing was ready. At 2 proceeded to receive charge of the Governor's letters. At 3 a fire broke out in 2 Burmese habitations. Prompt

assistance was afforded on the occasion by the troops, the Governor, his second, the Captain of the Corps, 2 Lieutenants, Serjeants, &c. The 2 buildings in question were burnt down but the injury did not extend further. It was suspected that this conflagration was the effect of design, but as yet this point has not been ascertained with certainty.

ROUTE from Tavoy to Martaban by Sea.

April 16th 1826. I set out from Tavoy for Martaban and at the same time the schooner sailed for Rangoon. It was fair weather during the night. Tavoy is a fine city, is said to contain 16,000 souls and has a large tin mine and some silver[q]. Towards morning I reached the bar of Tavoy. At 2 in the afternoon I came in sight of 4 vessels which I believe were from Rangoon, 3 of them were large and 1 small. I did not hail them as they were at a great distance.

q A little gold is occasionally found among the tin mines at Tavoy but we believe no silver.

April 17th. At 8 in the morning I saw a brig in a westerly direction. Winds variable. At sunset there was a calm and rain during the night.

April 18th. Until 10 in the morning the wind was from the north. It then blew from the S. E. At 12 a boat passed us bound to Tavoy from Martaban. The wind was favorable during the afternoon. At 6 there was a calm. At 8 I reached the mouth of the river Yé, in which quarter the Burmese said there were 3000 persons belonging to Martaban. I asked them what profit the country yields. This they could not tell.

April 19th. I came in sight of two boats which I supposed to be bound either to Tavoy or Mergui, I could not hail them as they passed at a considerable distance.

Note—The subsequent paragraph describes the state of the weather.

April 20th. I came in sight of the pagoda at the bar of Martaban. At 2 in the afternoon I entered within its points, at 4 I wished to land but could not in consequence of low water and my not having a small boat. At 5 a boat pushed off from shore with 4 Burmese to obtain accounts from Tavoy, who informed me that 200 sepoys were in the country with a Lieutenant and that the English intended to form a settlement[r] there. At 8 the flood tide set in. I weighed anchor and steered for Martaban.

r Amherst Town.

April 21st, I reached Martaban at 1 in the morning and anchored off the fort. I waited on Captain Fenwick[s] and delivered to him the letters which I brought from Tavoy and also stated to him that I was desirous of proceeding to Bangkok. Upon his mentioning some difficulty I told him I would proceed to Rangoon and wait on Mr. Crawfurd. He stated in reply to this that I might do so and I withdrew with the intention of setting out for Rangoon. But he again sent for me, promised to supply me with 20 people and told me that it was unnecessary to go to Rangoon. I agreed. Captain Fenwick informed me that Mr. Crawfurd had left Martaban 5 days ago for Rangoon, and that Mr. Crawfurd was Resident at Martaban. At 7 in the evening the rain commenced and continued until morning.

s Of the Madras 42th Regt.

April 22d. I was waiting the whole day for the 20 men who had not yet come. Captain Fenwick desired his interpreter to get ready a boat to proceed to the bar. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon he was informed that this was done. Captain Fenwick then proceeded to embark and I accompanied him. On reaching the boat it was discovered that it had only 4 oars, upon which it became necessary to defer the journey to the following day.

April 23d. I was obliged to wait this day also, in consequence of the non-arrival of the 20 Burmese

who were to accompany me. At 10 in the morning Captain Fenwick set out for the bar. I walked about the place and was informed by several persons that there were not more than 200 or 300 souls at Martaban, that the rest had gone over to the other side of the River. At 4 in the afternoon there arrived in the bar of Martaban a vessel with troops. I understood that she conveyed 100 sepoys who remained at the bar of the river, where a new town would be formed.

ROUTE from Martaban to the City of Bangkok up the river, across the 3 Pagodas to the Mekhlong and down that river.[t]

t It is interesting to compare this route with the account of the last invasion of Siam, and of the retreat of their army given in Tome 5me p.444 et seq. de Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes Paris 1820.

At 4 in the afternoon Captain Fenwick arrived, together with the 20 men who were to accompany me as far as Bangkok, and 2 small boats. The flood tide set in at 10 in the night when I set out accompanied by 20 Mons or Peguers and 3 Burmese.

April 25th, At 2 in the afternoon I arrived at *Müang*[u] *Uthran*. At 6 I reached *Khlang Bang Wilai* where I passed the night.

u Muang in Siamese is a town place or country, Khlang is a river, Bang a streamlet, Wilai ease, pleasure.

April 26th. At 4 in the morning I resumed my voyage. At 7 I met 3 fishermen's boats, all Peguers, among whom were two women. At 9 I reached *Khlong Peli*[v], where I desired my people to refresh themselves. At 6 I came in sight of 10 Pegu boats, in which where were about 50 persons belonging to the Siamese troops, who said they were going as far as Martaban for the purpose of purchasing some provisions.

v Burmese Zemih or Athane?

April 27th. At 8 I reached *Phra Mongue*[w]. (The rest of this article relates to some difficulties of navigation which he experienced).

w Mykwan?.

April 28th. (Note—This article reports his arrival at a place call *Khlong Mykwan*, where the

Burmese say is a large quantity of *Teak* easily cut and conveyed to Martaban.)

April 29th. At 11 o'clock I arrived at *Khlong Mysekleet* where I was obliged to pass the afternoon in consequence of the indisposition and extreme fatigue which my people had experienced.

April 30th. At 6 in the morning, after my people had refreshed themselves, I resumed my voyage up the river *Uthran*. At 10 we reached a strong place which took us an hour and a half. At ½ past 5 I arrived at *Mykesath*. I there landed and reviewed the spot where the Siamese troops resided. I found it to be a fine place. My people did not sleep, being engaged in arranging the articles belonging to them, such as rice, fish &c. They were obliged to leave there 10 bags of rice &c. being unable to transport them.

May 1st. At 3 a. m. I left *Mykesath* for *Sangola* by land. I arrived at *Bochan*[x] where I desired my people to refresh themselves. At 10 I reached a small river called by the Siamese *Namkroot pongyoon*, and from thence a place where there are 3 Pagodas[y] or rather stony piles. The middle one had a Chinese umbrella, which the wind had deranged. I desired one of the Burmese to restore it to order, but as he was entering in half of the Pagoda tumbled down. I quitted the place at midday. My people were all laid up with sore legs. At 2 I reached a rock called by the Siamese *Tameum*[x]. There the Burmese left three bags of rice being unable to transport them from thence to *Sangala* the journey being of two hours and a half I reached the *Sangala* River[z] at ½ past 4, where I ordered the people to refresh themselves. On the eastern side of the

x Bo well, Chan saucer. Tameum, rising, small elevation.

y This is the boundary in the direction between the Siamese and Burmese territory and is named by the Siamese Phra Chaidi Sam ong "3 Pyramids or Pagodas" and by the Burmese we believe Kiae pie and Praw Thoungo. It is to be regretted that Mr. Leal had not an opportunity of ascertaining the exact position of these pagodas as there is a difference of upwards of a degree in the position assigned to them in different maps. But that they cannot be in so high a Latitude as 15°. 4. 3. we should infer from the fact of Mr. Leal having been 7 days reaching them from Martaban. Mr. Gibson, the Burmese envoy to Cochin China, places the pagodas in Latitude 14°. 30 Long. 99°. 20, and the mean

between his position and that given in Captain Law's map (Lat. 15°. 43. Long. 98°. 54) has been taken, and the pagodas in the accompanying sketch placed in Lat. 15°. 6. Long. 99°. 7.

z Head of the Khlong River.

river is stationed the first Siamese guard at a place called *Singole*. At 5 I crossed the river in a float which I found there, and waited on the Siamese Chief, the head of the guard above alluded to. He received me with civility. The Guard consisted of 60 old Peguers. He told me 40 were in the fields felling timber for making canoes and some had gone to Martaban to purchase provisions. He further stated that Martaban was his native country and he still wished to be free from the Siamese, and return to the land of his birth. On his applying to me for some medicine I supplied him with a small quantity of salts. The said Chief sent 6 of his people to accompany me as far as *Loom Chhang*[a]. He had with him a young female, who he said was his wife. He furnished me with lodgings in his house and ordered quarters for my people. The name of this Chief is *Phya Phakdi Song Kram*.

a Bed or resting place of elephant. The Burmese Kudeen zein. Much difficulty occurs in distinguishing places on the confines of Siam and Ava from most of them bearing a Siamese, Burmese and Pegue denomination. The names given in the accompanying Geographical Sketch of places on the Uthran River were said in Bangkok to be those in use with the Mons or Peguers.

May 2d. At 8 in the morning I reached a small river called by the Siamese *Suaroi*, where my people refreshed themselves. I then resumed my journey, and passed several little streams whose names I could not ascertain. At 6 in the afternoon I reached *Loom Chhang*. My people were exceedingly fatigued and so was I. There I found the second Guard consisting of 32 Peguers. I numbered 27 boats large and small. There were also some persons carrying on traffic with the people of the plains; their trade consisted of cotton cloth, Bees wax, Ivory, Sapan wood, Honey, Buffalo and Deer's Hides, Tigers Skins &c. and cardamons. Here there are 3 rivers, one issuing from *Singola*[b], another from *Thadin deng*, and another flowing towards Bangkok.

b The 1st or Sangole river is considered as the head of the Mekhlong or the river flowing towards Bangkok. The 3d is the Alantay. Tha din deng is place of red earth.

May 3rd. At 9 the boats with which *Phya Phakdi Song Khram* had ordered me to be furnished being ready, I set out and fell in with 10 or 12 boats engaged in the same traffic as above described. I could not ascertain the name of this place[c]. I saw several floats and canoes proceeding towards Bangkok. At 7 in the night I was obliged to stop, as it became very dark and the river was very difficult to navigate.

c Phan phu um or Phan oon?

May 4th. At 5 in the morning, after my people had refreshed themselves, I resumed my voyage, but with difficulty. At 4 in the afternoon I met with a wrecked boat with 5 people who were cutting bamboos to make a float. They informed me that Phya Maha Yotha[d] had left *Menam Noi* for Bangkok, accompanied by 7 boats. At 5 in the afternoon I fell in with 7 boats engaged in traffic with the people of the plains, one of which approached me and the men in it begged of me to sell them a little medicine, which they wished to administer to a woman labouring under a fever. I did not sell but gave them some Peruvian bark with instructions how to use the same. At 7 in the night I reached a field called by the Siamese *Thong*[e] *locally* and was obliged to stop there that night it being very dark and at the same time the rain began falling with considerable violence.

d This is the Pegu Chief who opened a communication with the British army through Mertaban, to the vicinity of which he was sent early in 1825 with a force from Bangkok with the title of Rang na rong Commander of the Forces, corrupted by us into Rau Rau and Rown Rown

e Thong is a field.

May 5th. At 5 in the evening, after my people had refreshed themselves I set out and found the passage easier, as the rain which had fallen had caused the river to rise. At 9 I reached *Menam Noi*[f] and waited on the Governor of that place, *Phya Tacon Yu*, and also on his Second *Phya Chhayok*[f]. After half an hour's conversation they wished to oppose my passage to Bangkok, but on this they could not succeed. They then agreed to

f During the late war the Siamese constructed two forts at Menam Noi where the Pegue General Maha Yotha was stationed with a detachment. But they were employed in cultivating cotton, of which the finest description in Siam is produced at Menam Noi, and in cutting sapan wood and large timber for the Siamese state boats, which articles are all brought to Bangkok from the frontiers of Tavoy by the Menam Noi and Mekhiong. There is no

teak in this direction. Menam, mother of water or river and Noi small. Chhayok is said to be a small post a little above Menam Noi. Mr. Leal does not appear to have noticed it or the Siamese party may perhaps have been withdrawn at the close of the Burmese War. Chhayok may be the Daraik of some maps. This is the place where travellers bound for Tavoy from Bangkok generally begin their land journey. It is the Chaillet of Lettres Edifiantes, where the Burmese on their retreat from Siam first conveyed their guns, and where the Bishop of Tabraca, navigating against the stream arrived in 10 days from Phoctret or Pek. From this place the Bishop commenced his land journey with the Burmese, arriving at Tavoy in 14 days, after a most fatiguing march. 2 sepoys whom Captain Burney sent from Bangkok to Tavoy were nearly a month reaching that place, but they were purposely taken by a circuitous route. They understood that there is a shorter road direct from Menam Noi to Tavoy and they found their journey from Chhayok extremely laborious, passing over hills and through forests in which they could discover no traces of a path. Captain Low in the month of February 1825 travelled from Tavoy to a hill which he conceived to be the Siamese frontier, and which he places in Long. 98°. 39. He was six days reaching it and his perambulator measured 54 miles and 3 furlongs, from which he deducts 5 miles and 3 furlongs for the windings of the road. But he appears to make no allowance for the ascent and descent of hills which he crossed, a calculation that would still further

send me to Bangkok and to retain my people namely the 20 Peguers from Martaban who accompanied me, but I refused assent to this proposition. It was at length proposed, that I should remain there until the dispatch of a letter to Bangkok. In this condition too I did not acquiesce as I was short of provisions. I applied for some rice when 2 bags of it were ordered to be given to me together with a Jack and some plantains. I quitted *Menam Noi* at a little after 11. At 5 in the afternoon there came a boat with 5 persons from that place for the purpose of accompanying me to Bangkok. At 6 I reached the Guard called *Thatako*[9]. I did not land to avoid inconvenience. At 9 I reached a beetle nut field and there we reposed.

May 6th. At 1 in the morning I resumed my voyage. At 4 I passed a place called by the Siamese *Sam Sing*[9]. In that quarter were many vessels and a son of Phya Maha Yotha who was loading them with sapan wood. I did not wait on him as it was still dark. At 12 I reached the other Guard called *Danclai*[9]. The Chief who commanded there is named *Belat* Krom. He enquired whither I was proceeding. I replied to this question. He wanted me to leave with him the people who accompanied me, a request with which I would on no account comply. I asked him for a little rice which he refused. This guard consists of 30 persons. In this place was another son of a Phya *Maha Yotha* in a large boat with his wife. I asked whither they were bound. They answered

to Bangkok. I inquired after his father, he replied that he had gone down three days ago and that it would be difficult to meet him before reaching Bangkok. At ½ past 3 I passed *Banchiom*[h] where I understood were 4 or 500 Peguers. At 6 I arrived at *Pak-phrek*[i]. The Deputy Governor supplied me with 5 bags of rice half of which was in the husk.

May 7th. At 6 I reached *Ratphre*[j] and landed for the purpose of waiting on the Governor. He deputed his Second to meet me in a Pagoda. The first thing he said was that I could not leave that place until the arrival of orders from Bangkok. After an hour's conversation he sent for my people from the boat and as soon as they were ashore, would not allow them to go back. As I had still 5 servants I left the said Chief, returned to my boat and ordered my people to push off. About 50 or 60 Siamese then advanced to prevent my departure. Some of them seized my boat and refused to let her go off. Upon this I took up a bamboo, and the very first against whom I used it lay extended on the ground, another was struck on the arm, and the 3d on the head, the rest fled and I thus extricated myself and pursued my voyage[k]. At 6 I reached *Banchang*[l] where I did not stop. *Ratphri* is said to contain 100 persons and *Banchhang* from 3 to 4000 almost all Chinese.

May 8th. (Note—This article relates to his arrival at *Mekhlong* and the state of the river, which was crowded with vessels, floats &c.).

reduce the direct distance of his journey. The Longitudes of Tavoy and Bangkok are known and between the two there are several parallel ranges of hills and mountains. Mr. Gibson places the Burmese boundary in this direction in Long. 99°. 20. and the mean between his and Captn. Low's position or Long. 99°, has been taken in the accompanying sketch. Captain Low's boundary would reduce the breadth of the Anglo-Burmese territory by at least 41 Geographical miles.

g Tha place, tuko a fruit so named. Dan guard, Chai for. Sam sing three kinds

h Village or place of Chiom or Luange, subordinate Siamese officer.

i Open mouthed - so called from this place being situated at the confluence of the two rivers Mekhlong and Sissonat. Pakphrek is now often known by the name of Kanboori. The old Kanboori or Cambori at the head of the Sissonat river was entirely destroyed during the Burmese invasion in 1766. Pakphrek is the "Phactret" of Lettres Edifiantes and probably the place where the Burmese army, after laying waste the provinces of Ratphre and Kanboori built a new town at the confluence of two rivers, naming it "Miching," perhaps from its being on the Mekhlong River. There is now a town called Mekhlong close to the sea at the mouth of a river of the same name.

j Often termed Rukhaboori, the Rappri of Lettres Edifiantes.

k The Siamese Ministers justly complained of this violent proceeding to Captain Burney, who was obliged to

apologise for Mr. Leal, attributing his conduct to an excess of zeal to deliver important dispatches without delay. But had Mr. Leal consented to have stopped here at Menam Noi, there is no doubt, as he well knew, that the Court of Siam would have sent him back to Martaban.

May 9th. At 4 in the afternoon I reached *Thachin*. From *Mekhlong* to that place the tract is inhabited by Peguers. In *Thachin* there is an extensive spot said to contain 15 or 16000 persons. I did not stop there, but came to *Khlong Menam Luang*, where I was obliged to wait nearly half an hour for the flood tide.

l Elephant village. The "Bancang" of Lettres Edifiantes where the Burmese on their retreat from Siam left a Siamese Governor.

May 10th. After midnight I continued my voyage up the little river *Menam* or *Bang Luang*. About 3 in the morning I reached *Menam River* at Bangkok, and arrived at Captain Burney's house at a late hour at night. I did not wish to occasion any inconvenience and I went down to *Sampen* [m] and and remained there till dawn. I waited on Captain Burney at 8 in the morning, and by the grace of God my route was thus safely completed.

m Near the Portuguese Factory at Bangkok.

A LIST of all the Cities and Villages, places both great and small, through which I, Francisco Joze Leal passed, and of which mention if made in this route namely :—

Bangnarom has no population.

Mergui is said to contain 5000 persons.

Chhoomphon has a large population said to amount to 10,000 persons.

Pakchan has a guard of 60 persons constantly posted and relieved monthly.

Pulloh is said to contain 7 to 800 persons, in the mouth of the river of *Pulloh* are about 30 or 34 fishermen.

Tavoy is said to contain 16,000 persons.

Ye has a Pegu population to the extent of 30,000 souls (not a tithe of this number).

Martaban is said to contain between Peguers and Burmese upwards of 30,000 persons.

TERRITORIES belonging to Siam.

Songola contains 150 persons.

Loom Chhang Do. 32 Do.

Menam Noi Do. 150 Do.

Tha tuko Do. 30 Do.

Dan Clai Do. 30 Do.

Ban Chaim Do. from 4 to 5000 Peguers.

Pak phrek is said to contain from 7 to 8000 Siamese.

Rat phre Do. 10,000.

Ban Chhang contains from 3 to 4000 persons, Chinese and Siamese.

Me Khlong is said to contain from 12 to 13,000 Chinese and Siamese.

Thachin is said to contain from 15 to 16,000, Chinese, Siamese and Cambodians.

(Signed) Francisco Jose Leal

Bangkok 10th May 1826.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, p. 559.

Fort Cornwallis the 6th September 1827.

SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

Superintendent of Police 3 September 1827.

John Anderson Esquire

Secretary to Government.

Sir,

I beg to report for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council the arrival this morning of about 35 persons, men, women and children, from Setul, who report that they have fled from that place in consequence of orders having been given by the Siamese Government to seize and send to Siam a certain number (about one hundred) of Kedah boys from 13 to 15 years of age, and that the quota of these youths to be furnished by the Setul District is seventy, Lingoo to provide the remainder. Three more boat loads of the inhabitants of Setul are reported to be on their way here and altogether about 150 persons have fled from thence to save their families and children from this oppression. Twenty-three boys had been seized before these people fled. The object of the Siamese is said to be an Establishment of Malayan goldsmiths and other handicrafts for the palace of His Siamese Majesty.

I have &ca. &ca.

(Signed) R. Caunter
Supdt. of Police.

Police Office
3d September 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 593-6.

Fort Cornwallis, the 13th September 1827.

To Governor General.

To Govr. Genl. 6 Septr. 1827.

To the Right Honble.
William Pitt Lord Amherst
Governor General in Council Fort William.

My Lord,

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 23d July, and to convey our assurances of the most implicit adherence being observed to the line of conduct therein pointed out: The Report of Captain Burney addressed to the Right Honble. the Vice President in Council of the 23d April and 2 May having been submitted to us we deemed it due to ourselves to enter into some explanation on those points wherein facts or reasoning appeared to be perverted to our prejudice, and we have to regret that our opinions should have proved so much at variance with those entertained by your Lordship.

2. We have now the honor to enclose copies of all the papers which led to the attack on the pirates in the Korow River, from which it will be perceived that the measure did not originate on any political arrangements, nor was it resorted to by Captain Low in prosecution of such, but conducted under our order arising out of communication from the Police Department in consequence of increasing acts of piracy committed by persons finding shelter on that river. It may be proper to add that since the measure was resorted to not an instance of piracy has been reported.

3. We beg to assure your Lordship that in directing the attack in question, we acted under the belief established by our records, by every map and

chart within our reach, and more particularly by one furnished by Captain Burney himself in April 1825, that the Krean was and has ever been the boundary between Kedah and Perak; to the latter state therefore all communications were made. If we have been misled by our authorities on this case, we must sincerly regret that it has brought upon us so serious a charge as the infringement of a treaty, and the territory of another state; the very last thing of which we should willingly be guilty. In further explanation of the general subject of your Lordship's letter we beg leave to refer to the enclosed Minute of our President.*

4. We have the honor to enclose draft of letter addressed to the Chief of Ligore on the subject of Nackoda Oodin, the result of our enquiry shall be reported as soon as possible. In respect to the Ex-King of Quedah, as it appears that the Hastings may shortly be expected here, we propose availing ourselves of that opportunity to remove that personage with his family to Malacca.

We have &ca.

(Signed) R. Fullerton
" K. Murchison

Fort Cornwallis
The 6th Septr. 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 609-616.

Fort Cornwallis the 13th September 1827.

Minute of the President.

Minute 13th Septr. 1827.

Refering to the orders recently received from the Right Honorable the Governor General on the subject of removing the Ex-King of Kedah to Malacca, it now becomes necessary that some decided measures should be adopted on the case, but in proposing those measures I think it right for the information of the Superior Authorities with whom ultimate decision will rest, that all the attending circumstances of the case should be clearly, fully and distinctly stated. The orders of the Supreme Government on this occasion appear to be founded on an expression used by Captain Burney to the following effect. "I visited the Ex-King however, "and I hope convinced him of the utter groundlessness "of such a charge and I am satisfied that if the ex- "pediency and advantage of his removing be seriously "urged on his Highness, by the officers of this Govern- "ment, he will consent to proceed to Malacca. I have "no hesitation in adding, that the absolute necessity "for removing him from this Island appears to me "now demonstrated beyond all doubt."

In answer to the injunctions of the Vice President in Council already received on this matter, we have repeatedly assured His Lordship in Council of our earnest wish and desire that the Ex-King should consent to remove to Malacca and I can safely and most conscientiously affirm that every argument has been used in personal communications, and every measure resorted to thro' other channels in order to induce the King to assent to the measure, and all without success; for the courses of failure and sentiments of the King I must refer to the various letters and recorded communications that have passed on the subject.

To induce the assent of the King, the propositions alluded to by the Governor General and now sanctioned, were proposed, but it never was contemplated that these propositions or any others of the nature of a Treaty or reciprocal obligation could take effect without the sanction of the Supreme Authority. We are now then to consider the nature of the order, how far decidedly imperative or open to further reference, and the measures we are to adopt in consequence.

Two propositions are laid down.

1st. That we have a right to dictate the place of residence of a refugee.

2nd. That so long as such refugee resides within our protection, it is our positive duty to prevent his making use of that residence for the purpose of carrying on illicit intrigues against a friendly power. These positions are incontrovertible and with the latter the Ex-King of Quedah has been daily impressed ever since his residence here. But there is another question arises, and that one we have already put to the Supreme Government and as yet received no reply. Namely, whether in the event of the King intimating, as he has done, his desire to quit our protection rather than proceed to Malacca, we are to permit him to depart and seek protection elsewhere. On this point it may be observed that he came here to seek our protection, that he has never been treated as a prisoner, but with every mark of honor and respect suitable to the unfortunate situation in which he has been placed. That it must be doubtful whether we are justified in making him a prisoner, or whether the order of the Right Honble. the Governor General is intended of authorize that extreme measure, nor does it distinctly appear that reference has been made to the latter part of the 13th article, which makes its provision for the future residence of the King conditional

only, as particularly alluded to in my Minute of 18 September 1826.

It is true that on a former occasion, when the Ex-King intimated an intention of quitting our protection, persuasion was used with success to induce him to remain and abandon a course likely to be followed by his own ruin, but it must be recollected that he now stands in a somewhat different state. He was not then required to remove from the Island, the requisition of which arising from the Siamese he deems it a point of honor to resist, even at the hazard of the total loss of our protection to his person. Moreover it must be observed that at the period in question he still entertained hopes of obtaining through our means his restoration to his ancient kingdom. Those hopes are now entirely cut off; the Treaty has been published in every newspaper in India and, I have ascertained, has been fully explained to him. He knows we have engaged to oppose all attempts of his own at the recovery of his kingdom, and he has now arrived at the crisis of his fate; all hopes of aid from us must now be at an end and in whatever plans he may now entertain despair must form a material part.

On the other hand it must be observed, that as he himself has declared, his object in quitting our protection is to retire to Delli or Siak, and there we know his object will be to collect his friends and adherents, and thence make an attempt on Quedah or as he terms it himself, to meet his fate; an attempt that would end probably in his total ruin, but in the meantime produce piracy and confusion all around us. We are moreover to consider, that under the 13 Article of Captain Burney's Treaty and now ratified by the Governor General, we engage not to permit the "former Governor of Quedah (meaning the "Ex-King) or any of his followers to attack or disturb "or injure in any manner the territory of Quedah or

"any other territory subject to Siam." For any such attack or occurrence, by no means improbable were the King to quit our territory, we might be held responsible for all after events. As all communications recently received from the Supreme Government too manifestly evince the transfer of all confidence in us to another quarter, it behoves us to be particularly guarded in our proceedings, and full in the explanations of the motives under which we act. After maturely weighing the circumstances of the case in all their bearings it seems to me to be scarcely possible to fulfil with effect the 13th Article of the treaty if we permit the Ex-King to quit our territory and protection. The alternative would follow in due course, that observing towards him that line of conduct hitherto pursued, and as far as possible placing our precautionary measures under cover of outward marks of honor and respect, we should nevertheless prevent his clandestinely quitting this Island.

As the ship Hastings, expected shortly, will afford a convenient opportunity for the removal of the King, family and followers, and as some notice should be given him for preparation, I propose that Mr. Caunter, the Superintendent of Police, whose knowledge of the language and his having been already employed as a medium of communication render him a fit person, should make the necessary communication attached to the Minute. Although I hope and trust the King will at last be induced to comply with the desire of the Right Honble. Governer General, it nevertheless becomes necessary that the eventual refusal as well as occurrences arising out of the decided objections of the King should not be entirely lost sight of. I therefore propose that Mr. Caunter should be directed through the means of confidential persons to watch the proceedings of the King and obtain a timely insight into his views and intentions in order that any plan for quitting the Island may be counteracted by further

measures. Some communication may also be required to be made to the officer commanding the troops to select careful and steady native officers to take charge of the King of Quedah's Guard, hitherto considered as one honorary entirely.

(Signed) R. Fullerton.

Fort Cornwallis
The 13th September 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 616-619.

Fort Cornwallis the 13th September 1827.

Supdt. of Police 13th Septr. 1827.

To R. Caunter Esqre.
Superintendent of Police.

C Sir,

The directions of the Right Honble. the Governor General having been recently received for the removal of the Ex-King of Quedah to Malacca, I am directed by the Governor in Council to inform you, that adverting to your situation as Superintendent of Police, your knowledge of the language, as well as well as personal acquaintance with the King, having been frequently employed as the medium of Communication, it has been deemed proper to select you for carrying these directions into execution in the manner least offensive to that personage. You are accordingly directed to obtain an interview with him and in the first place remind him of the protection he has hitherto enjoyed under this Government. You will then intimate to him that circumstances have rendered it indispensably necessary that his place of residence should be changed to Malacca, that it is the earnest wish and desire of the Right Honorable the Governor General as well as of the Governor that he should remove as early as possible, and make immediate preparation accordingly. You will inform him that on his removal to Malacca the pension now drawn by him will be increased to 10,000 Dollars per annum; that the house now occupied by him will be received at the valuation put on it when purchased, and the amount appropriated to finding him another suitable residence at Malacca; that a vessel will be found to convey himself, family and followers to Malacca at the public expense; that he will thus be received and treated by the public authorities with the same mark of honor and respect which have invariably been paid to him

here. You will remind him that being under our protection, we have the right of dictating his place of residence. That is is only on these terms that he can expect to derive pecuniary aid from the Government, and in the event of his intimating any desire or intention of quitting the protection of the British Government, you will use every argument in your power to convince him of the ruinous consequences that must result from such a step ; that by such he must forfeit entirely all support and protection from us and place himself in a situation wherein it must become our duty to act as his enemy in the event of any attempt of a nature hostile to the existing authorities of Quedah.

In pointing out these as fit arguments to be used by you, it is not the intention of the Governor in Council to bind you to their strict adherence to the letter of them in the first instance, should you find any prospect of success by other reasoning.

As the abandonment of our protection by the King and his quitting the Island would under present circumstances be an event of a very embarrassing nature, it would be advisable that you should employ confidential persons to procure correct information of his plans and intentions, and keep the Governor informed of all that may come to your knowledge, as well as the result of your communication with the King.

I am &ca.

(Signed) John Anderson
Secry. to Government.

Fort Cornwallis
The 13th September 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 659-660.

Fort Cornwallis The 4 October 1827.

Minute by the President, 4 Octr. 1827.

MINUTE by the PRESIDENT.

I now submit for record two letters received from Mr. Caunter whom I deputed to communicate with the Ex-King of Quedah on the subject of his removal to Malacca, considering him a likely person to have some influence over the mind of the King. I regret to say no good effect has been produced. Since receiving these letters I have had an interview with the King, and after using every argument and speaking to him in most decided language, I regret to say he remains obstinately fixed to his determination not to go to Malacca, but if permitted, to quit our protection entirely and seek it elsewhere. I propose therefore as the last resource to transmit to him the letter attached, and if it fails of effect, we must then consider whether we are to allow him to depart, or to use force in sending him to Malacca. The Board will perceive that the Vice President in Council have sent no reply to our question, but repeat their presumption of his being removed. The Board will also perceive that the order of the Right Honble. the Governor General is peremptory, and directs his removal to Malacca. It is an order therefore we must obey, and does not seem to leave with us the option of any other course.

(Signed) R. Fullerton.

4 October 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142. pp. 660-661.

Fort Cornwallis The 4 October 1827.

To THE KING of QUEDAH

Enclosure.

I have to announce to my Friend that orders have been received from the Supreme Government, fixing the place of my friend's residence at Malacca. A vessel is prepared for the conveyance of my friend, all his family and followers to that place. My friend must accordingly without fail prepare to depart as soon as possible, no further delay can be allowed. My friend will, so long as he remains at Malacca, be treated with the same marks of attention and respect he has always received, and an additional sum of 4,000 Dollars per Annum will be allowed him for his maintenance. The directions of the Right Honble. the Governor General being positive and peremptory must by every means be obeyed,and nothing can now be admitted against them. Should my friend, after his arrival at Malacca, wish to address the Governor General, his letter will be sent, but so long as he remains at Prince of Wales Island no favor can be shown, and my friend must consider his residing at Malacca the only condition on which he is in future to receive the support and protection of the British Government, and I must conclude by expressing my hope that my friend's acquiescing in the direction and advice of his best friends who have so long afforded him protection, will prevent the necessity of my resorting to stronger measures in order to ensure obedience to the orders of the Right Honble. the Governor General.

(Signed) R. Fullerton.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 661-2.

Fort Cornwallis The 4 October 1827.

Enclosure.

Monday 17 September 1827.

Honble. Sir,

I have had two interviews with the Ex-King and have fully communicated to him the orders of the Supreme Government, explained to him the advantages he will derive by going to Malacca, and the consequences of not doing so. His Majesty appears as yet resolved not to go to Malacca, and says if he must not reside here, he would wish to seek an asylum elsewhere, claims a right to be permitted to go, upon some former promise of Government. He told me Siak was the place he contemplated going to, as he has connections and friends there. His Majesty sometimes hinted at the idea of applying for leave to remain here until another reference on the subject could be made to the Governor General ; Sometimes spoke of going himself to Calcutta or sending his eldest son. The result of our last conference was a request that I would allow him four of five days to consider the matter well before he gave a definite answer. From my private informant I understand the King yesterday sent a letter to his younger Brother, Tunku Soliman, inviting him to come and see him, and that the object in so doing is to get T. S. to take charge of His Majesty's sisters and their families in case he should be obliged to go away.

I remain

(Signed) R. Caunter.

To the Honble.
R. Fullerton Esquire
Governor.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 662-3.

Fort Cornwallis The 4 October 1827.

Saturday 22d September 1827,

Enclosure.

Honble. Sir,

I beg to acquaint you that I had another interview with the Ex King last evening, and again tried every argument in my power to persuade him to remove to Malacca, but could not succeed in altering his opinion on that subject. He appears to have a decided dislike to such a step, and frequently explains he should be disgracing himself and country by so doing. His Majesty farther said, that if he cannot be permitted to remain *here* under the protection of the British Government, he wishes to be allowed to depart and seek that protection elsewhere, and as he expressed it, follow his Fate! I pointed out to him distinctly the consequence of not complying with the wishes of the Supreme Government and of you, by removing to Malacca, and reasoned with him as much as possible on the subject, but could not turn his mind or alter his feelings. He made several remarks on the Treaty with Siam as far as it regarded himself and seemed much hurt at it. Our conference ended with his saying, he intended addressing a letter to you to request another reference of his case to the Right Honble the Governor General and permission to remain here until an answer to that is received. This, Honble. Sir, is the result of my interviews with the Ex-King, who I do not think will ever willingly remove to Malacca.

I remain &ca.

(Signed) R. Caunter.

To The Honble. R. Fullerton Esq.
Governor.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 47-49.

Fort Cornwallis The 15th November 1827.

Translation

Son of the Rajah of Ligore 9th November 1827.

of a letter from the Baginda Mooda, Son of the Rajah of Ligore, at Quedah, to Mr. John Anderson.

(After Compliments.)

I beg to acquaint my friend and request he will make the same known to the Honorable Robert Fullerton, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, that during the present month, Malays, Chooliahs and Chinese traders have been reporting here that the Rajah of Quedah was collecting prows and men in the Prye River, about 70 or 80 prows, and that it is his intention to send Taunku Deen, Taunku Abdullah, Taunku Dayer and To Johan, the family and followers of the Rajah of Quedah, to attack Quedah. I am accordingly in doubt, but inclined to believe it untrue, for the Rajah of Quedah resides under my friend's Government, and my friend would not permit him to do so, because the Right Honble. Lord Amherst, Governor General of Bengal, sent Captain H. Burney to make a Treaty at the Capital, establishing a permanent friendship. I therefore do not credit the report but I herewith send Aluang Paromlok to my friend and request my friend will accompany him to wait on the Honble. Robert Fullerton, Governor of Pulo Penang, that he may explain all my wishes so that friendship may be prolonged.

Moreover in respect to the report of the people relative to the Rajah of Quedah preparing prows at Prye, if it should prove to be correct, I request my friend will prevent them from doing anything contrary to the Treaty of the Right Honorable Lord Amherst, Governor General of Bengal, and I request my friend

will send some person to accompany Aluang Paromlok to examine the place agreeably to the customs of friendship and Aluang Paromlok will bring a full report to me.

Dated 17th Rabealakhir 1243 or 6th November 1827.

(Signed) John Anderson
Malay Tr. to Government

Penang
The 9th November 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, p. 54.

Fort Cornwallis The 15th November 1827.

To the Son of the Rajah of Ligore.

To the Son of The Raja of Ligore 12th Novr. 1827.

Letter

from the Malay Translator to Government to the Son of the Raja of Ligor at Quedah.

I duly received my friend's letter brought by Aluang Paromlok respecting the rumours abroad of the Rajah of Quedah preparing prows in the river Prye with the intention of sending Taunku Abdulla, Taunku Dice and To Johan to attack Quedah, and I read it in the presence of the Honble. the Governor, who at the same moment gave orders to Mr. Caunter and Captain Low to send my friend's Envoy with people to examine and ascertain if there was any truth in the reports. He has returned and stated that they are not true. I therefore send him back and he will no doubt make known all particulars to my friend, whose mind will now be at ease.

(Signed) John Anderson
Malay Tr. to Government.

Penang,
The 12th November 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 54-56.

Fort Cornwallis The 15th November 1827.

Translation

Ex Raja of Quedah 8th Novr. 1827.

of a letter from the Ex-Rajah of Quedah to the Honble. the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

On the 18th day of Rubealawal I received a letter from my friend, the contents of which have afflicted me much and astonished me extremely. Being imposed on by the treachery of the Siamese I removed to Prye intending to place my children with my brother, Taunku Solymon, and afterwards to return and attack the Siamese. Mr. Cracraft was sent by Mr. Phillips to convey me to Pulo Penang, intending to assist me in returning me to my country of Quedah. My confidence therefore was unbounded as the heavens that the Company would assist me in returning to my own Country, and that I should be enabled to remain there by the power of the Company, agreeably to the engagement made when the island of Penang was granted by my deceased father. I therefore remained at Pulo Penang, placing confidence that the expected assistance of the Company would be given. During the time Mr. Phillips was Governor till my friend's arrival, how many letters did I receive promising me assistance and desiring me to wait, which impressed me with great confidence and hence I have remained now Six Years here.

Now my friend informs me that there is an order from the Governor General directing my being sent to Malacca, and that there is to be no evasion ; that if I do not comply of my own will that my friend must use force to carry into effect the Governor General's orders, and it has alarmed me exceedingly to find that I should be unexpectedly sent away to another country ; my heart

is distressed and can think no more, and my expectations have been disappointed. However if my friend will not assist me according to the Treaty, it signifies not. I shall go away to some other place, wherever my fate may carry me; but as to proceeding to Malacca, my mind can never be reconciled to it. I am utterly averse to it. I am now only waiting for the fair weather and I shall quit this place and proceed to some other country. With respect to the place I cannot positively state it, for it will depend upon the Chiefs of the places I may proceed to, whether I shall be permitted to reside there, and upon myself to select a place that I like. I only request that my friend will give me a ship and money as a present from the English Company and let not my friend trouble himself about any thing else. Dated 18th Rabealakhir 1243 or 8th November 1827.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) John Anderson
Malay Translator.

Pinang
The 9th November 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 57-8.

Fort Cornwallis The 15th November 1827.

Minute by the President 9th Novr. 1827.

Minute by the President.

Having now used every endeavour in my power to induce the Ex-King of Quedah to remove to Malacca, as far as threats and promises could have effect, but in vain, and no answer having been received from the Supreme Government, we must now decide on one of two measures, either to make him a prisoner and send him by force, or to permit him to quit our protection and territory, the alternative which he seems to prefer. After the most mature consideration of the case, it apears to me that the latter is the least objectionable course. The forcible seizure and making a prisoner of our ally would of of itself be a very severe and questionable measure, nor can [I] say what consequences might result or how far an appeal to the law might operate towards its adoption with success, nor am I certain that the order of the Right Honble. the Governor General referring to the observations with which it is * [ ] contemplates so severe a measure. The Ex-King has, on a former occasion, been assured of free permission, to quit our territory when he pleased. His forcible retention would be a breach of faith, neither are we bound by the Treaty to retain him at any particular place within our own territory, but to prevent his residence within certain defined countries. I propose therefore that the letter annexed be sent to him forthwith and its terms and conditions rigidly adhered to, unless affected by any orders that may intermediatedly arrive.

[* blank in original.]

(Signed) [R. Fullerton].

9th November 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 58-61.

Fort Cornwallis The 15th November 1827.

Enclosure.

To the Ex King of Quedah.

I have now repeatedly informed my friend of the desire and orders of the Governor General of India for the removal of my friend and his family to Malacca. I have used every argument to induce him to comply with the wishes of his real friends and I expected, considering the long protection and continued comfort my friend has enjoyed under British Protection, that he would have been disposed to listen to the advice of those who are the best judges of his welfare, but I am sorry to perceive all my reasoning in vain, and nothing short of actual compulsion can bring about the wishes of the Supreme Government. I write this letter therefore to inform my friend of the only terms and condition on which he can continue to enjoy the protection of the British Government; these are— That he forthwith proceed to Malacca with his family and there reside. He will then in that case receive 10,000 Dollars per annum and be treated in all matters, and with the same respect as he has hitherto been on the Island. He will still be considered as an Ally of the British Government and should any favorable opportunity offer hereafter he may rely on the support and assistance towards his restoration to his kingdom. He must on his part stipulate that he will enter into no designs hostile to the Siamese, calculated to disturb or excite alarm or commotion in any country under their authority. Should my friend decline these terms it becomes my painful duty to announce to him the entire withdrawal of the Protection of the British Government and to direct him to leave their territories within 15 days from this date. In announcing to him this determination it is necessary at the same time to inform him that we are bound by Treaty with the King of Siam,

not to permit him to reside on this Island, on Wellesley Province (Prye), in Perak, in Salengore or in any Burmese Country. We are also bound not to permit him or any of his people to attack Quedah or any other Siamese country. It will be necessary therefore that my friend if he determines to quit our Protection should proceed to the Island of Sumatra or other place at a distance from any Siamese Country, and that he should abstain from any attempt to attack the Siamese: he must otherwise become an enemy to the British Government and be treated as such.

Before my friend determines on quitting for ever the Protection of the British Government, it becomes him well to consider what may be his future fate and that of his family. If once he quits their protection, he cannot expect again to enjoy it, and he will well consider and weigh the advantages he may still enjoy, with the risk of distress and misery and almost certain ruin, he must in his old age encounter by seeking new friends. Having thus fully stated my mind to my friend, I trust he will yet determine on complying with the directions of the Supreme Government. As soon as his determination is known, which must be in ten days from this, a vessel will be prepared to carry him to Malacca or to the place to which he wishes to be carried, but my friend must not expect one day's delay to be allowed beyond the time now fixed. Fifteen days is the utmost limit that will be allowed for his remaining here.

(Signed) R. Fullerton.
Governor.

The 9th November 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 67-69.

Fort Cornwallis The 20th November 1827.

To Suptdt. of Police 16 Novr. 1827.

To R. Caunter Esq.
Superintendent of Police.

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor in Council to desire that you will immediately wait on the Ex King of Quedah, and inform him that the period allowed in the letter to him (of which the enclosed is a translation) for his quitting this Island will expire on the 27th Instant, that a vessel is preparing for his conveyance, and that he must be ready to embark with his family on or before that day. You will make him distinctly understand that this order is imperative, and unless willingly obeyed, the Governor in Council will have no alternative but to force compliance by measures which it is their earnest desire to avoid. You will also ascertain from him the size and description of the vessel required and you will inform him that directions will be given to the Commander to proceed either to Malacca or to such Port on the Island of Sumatra as the Ex-King may name, and in the former case the Ex-King will remain an ally under the protection of the British Government, enjoying their support and assistance on the terms and conditions already explained to him, in the other case, that is ofhis proceeding to any place beyond the territories of the British Government, he must distinctly understand that all connection support and assistance from us to himself and family will cease and determine for ever. You are further empowered to receive from the Ex-King any communication he may have to make relative to the settlement and adjustment of his affairs here. Shculd he determine and actually proceed to Malacca, you may assure him the British Government will not withhold their pecuniary assistance in that respect, but in the other case he must

be required to quit the Island as a Person unlicensed to reside here and make his own arrangements. You will as soon as possible, communicate to the Master Attendant the description of vessel that will be required. He has the orders of Government to provide a suitable vessel.

I am &c.

(Signed) John Anderson
Secry. to Government.

Fort Cornwallis
The 16th November 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 70-72.

Fort Cornwallis The 20th November 1827.

Ex Raja of Quedah 15th Novr. 1827.

Translation

of a letter from the Ex Raja of Quedah to the Honble. R. Fullerton Governor Pulo Penang &c.

(After Compliments.)

I have received the letter which my friend sent me on the 23d Rabialakhir, in which my friend advises and directs me to go to Malacca, and also refering to other matters which I fully understand. I have well considered all particulars and have been much astonished at the purport of my friend's communication. In respect to my friend's orders to proceed to Malacca, as my words have already been uttered, and I have said I cannot go, if I could I would not deviate from what I have said, for it is the custom of Malay Kings to consider any variation from express declarations extremely disgraceful. Moreover, it is mentioned in my friend's letter that if I do not like to go to Malacca, I may proceed to some other place, excepting only such places as are mentioned, namely this Island, Province Wellesley, Perak, Salengore or any Burmese country, and if I am disposed to go any where else, my friend desires me to decide on the place and expresses his intention of making preparations for conveying me thither, by the assistance and compassion of the Company. Let not my friend be offended, but I hope my friend will forgive me when I state that if possible I should wish to remove by myself and I request my friend will make arrangements for paying me the tribute of Pulo Pinang, viz., the amount of balance from the time of my quitting Quedah. My present dwelling I also wish to transfer to the Company at the price I paid for it. I also request my friend's assistance to make all those who are indebted to me settle with me. This would be a great assistance from my friend. Were I to conform to my friend's instructions, there

would no longer be any source of confidence left me in respect to a certain time for my returning to my own country, for my age is advanced and I do not know how much longer I shall live.

Moreover I beg to remind my friend that I have a letter from my friend in which he states that he would not compel me to remove to Malacca and that I should be permitted to reside here and receive the same protection I enjoyed from the time I arrived here but now my friend's letter informs me that force must be resorted to. I do not know what to think or say more and I might perhaps express myself incorrectly; but I cannot be satisfied when I reflect that my country was seized from me and my friend will not assist me, for my friend now conforms to the new Treaty with the Siamese, and casts off the Treaty with my deceased father and myself. My friend is only troubling me from day to day urging me to remove to Malacca. Rather than my mind should be kept in this state of trouble any longer, it is better I should relinquish the Company's assistance altogether. I only request the tribute of Pulo Pinang and price of the House, and a settlement of those who are indebted to me. This will be sufficient to enable me to quit Pulo Pinang and I shall have little more to consider of.

Dated 25th Rabialakhir 1243, or 15: November 1827.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) John Anderson
Malay Translator.

Pinang 17: Novr. 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142. pp. 72-73.

Fort Cornwallis the 20th November 1827.

From the Honorable the Governor
to the Ex King of Quedah.

I have received my friend's letters. The orders of the Supreme Government are positive and must be obeyed. My Friend must depart from this Island on or before the 27th of this month. If the title deeds to the house are delivered and transmitted to the Government before that day the same amount that my friend paid for the house will be paid to him, and if an agent be left for the settlement of all affairs he will receive all proper assistance, but let not my friend deceive himself with false expectations, the period of his remaining on his remaining on this Island cannot be delayed beyond the term fixed.

(Signed) R. Fullerton,
Governor.

Pinang 19th November 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 159-160

Fort Cornwallis The 29th November 1827.

Translation

of a letter from the Ex Rajah of Quedah to the Honorable R. Fullerton, Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

I have to inform my friend that the numerous letters from my friend and his often repeated advice to comply with the orders of the Governor General of Bengal by removing to Malacca, have given me much uneasiness and anxious consideration, that I might not deviate from the wishes of the Governor General of Bengal and my friend's advice, but at the present day I can think no more, and if the Governor General will comply with my request herein stated, I will conform to the wishes of the Governor General by proceeding to Malacca with all my family. The following are the requests I have to make of the Governor General and Council of Bengal. 1st. I request the Governor General will fix a time for my returning to Quedah to be established as formerly. 2ndly. Until I do return to Quedah, I request the Governor General will allow me for my expenses 20,000 Dollars a year, for my family and followers who will have to accompany me are numerous, and 10,000 Dollars would not be enough for my expenses. 3rd. In case the assistance of the Governor General to return me to Quedah be long delayed, I shall be permitted to quit the place and remove to any other country, and if beyond the company's jurisdiction, that the Company shall not detain me. 4th So long as I may reside at Malacca, if any of my slaves abscond to any place whatever the Company will assist in seizing and returning them to me. 5th. I request the Governor General will give me a present of a ship by which I may be enabled to proceed with care and

comfort with my family to Malacca. Such are my requests of the Governor General and my friend. With respect to these five articles, when my friend has acceded to them, there will be no further delay in my removing, and in a day or two however I shall be prepared to go to Malacca, but if my friend is not disposed to accede to the several requests above stated I do not feel inclined to go to Malacca, for if I do go there I shall certainly be exposed to great difficulty and distress. In respect to the allowance of 10,000 Dollars a year granted me while in charge of my Government of Quedah, it is of no consequence.

Dated 4th Jemadilawal 1243 or 23: November 1827.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) John Anderson
Malay Translator

Penang
26: November 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, p. 161.

Fort Cornwallis The 29th November 1827.

Letter

to the Rajah of Quedah.

I have received my friend's letter of the 4th of Jemadilawal and have only to inform him in reply that if he is not on board ship for Malacca by 10 o'clock on Thursday morning next, all connection between my friend and the British Government must cease, and all payments will also cease from this day.

(Signed) R. Fullerton.

The 26th November 1827.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 176-8.

Fort Cornwallis the 17th December 1827.

To The Honorable the Recorder.

To the Honble. the Recorder.

Honble. Sir,

We do ourselves the honor of submitting to your perusal, extract of a letter received some time ago from the Right Honble. the Governor General and copy of the article of the Treaty with Siam to which it refers.

2. You will perceive that the orders for the removal of the Ex-King of Quedah are of a peremptory nature, and such as require the most perfect obedience on our part. All possible means have therefore been taken and every possible encouragement held out to induce the King to proceed to Malacca, but without effect, and we are now satisfied that nothing short of actual force will produce his removal as desired. Before, however, we proceed to that severe measure, it becomes necessary well to consider the law of the case, whether we are warranted by any Act or Statute to use force on such an occasion.

3. The Ex-King was expelled from Quedah in the Year 1822 by the Siamese Chief of Ligor, was invited and received by us and has since resided here under our protection, having been permitted to purchase a house for himself and has been treated with every mark of honor and respect due to his unfortunate situation, with an allowance of 6000 Dollars per annum for his maintenance. Various attempts have at different times been made by negotiation with the Siamese to bring about his restoration, of which the article enclosed is the last.

4. We are perfectly aware that it rests entirely with yourself to give an opinion or not on the case, but we doubt not that the circumstances in which we are

placed will in this respect meet with due consideration. There is no other Law Authority within our reach on whom any dependence can be placed, and while we are most earnest in our desire, as indeed, our duty requires of us, to carry into effect the orders of the Supreme Authority of India, we are nevertheless most anxious to avoid recourse to a measure the immediate consequence of which we cannot foresee, provided there exists any doubts of its strict legality, and in this case we should prefer the only alternative that remains, another reference to the Supreme Government.

(Signed) R. Fullerton.
R. Ibbetson.

The 5th December 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 179-180.

Fort Cornwallis The 17th December 1827.

The Honble. the Recorder.

To the Honorable Robert Fullerton
Governor in Council
&c. &c. &c.

Honorable Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date. There are many reasons that oblige me (with much regret) to decline giving any answer to your question, whether you are warranted by any Act or Statute to use force on the occasion alluded to.

First. If force is employed the King of Quedah may claim the protection of the Court, of which I am a judge; whether such protection can be afforded or not I need not stop to enquire,

Secondly. If force is employed and death ensues, the party causing death will probably be brought before the Court here.

Thirdly. I infer that as you are now "satisfied that nothing short of actual force will produce the removal of the King of Quedah as desired"; and as you state "the orders for his removal to be of a peremptory nature, and such as require the most perfect obedience on your part," that you are prepared to employ force, in case I am of opinion that you are warranted by any Act or Statute to use it on such an occasion.

Whether you are warranted by any Act or Statute, or by the Law of England, or Nations, or not, I think, from your own Statement, that such proceeding, will bring the character of this Government to a level with that of the Rajah of Ligore, and disgrace the British name among all civilized nations, and I

cannot consent to have my name mixed up with such a transaction.

I have &c.

(Signed) J. T. Claridge

The 6th December 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 214-6.

To the Son of the Rajah of Ligore.

Fort Cornwallis The 17th December 1827.

To the Son of the Rajah of Ligore.

I am directed by the Honble. the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, to acquaint my friend that ever since the ratification of the Treaty concluded by Captain Burney on behalf of the Right Honorable the Governor General with the Court of Siam, every means of persuasion have been employed by the Government to induce the Ex-Rajah of Quedah to remove to Malacca; but he has made every possible objection to conforming to the desire of the Governor General and the Governor of Penang in this respect.

The Rajah has however promised to remove from this Island and to proceed to some place not interdicted in the Treaty. It is expected he will proceed to some port on the East Coast of Sumatra, Delhi or Siack, and a conveyance will be found by this Government for him to such place as he may fix upon for his future residence.

Every proper measure of precaution has been taken to prevent the Rajah removing clandestinely from hence, but I am directed to suggest to my friend the propriety of keeping a strict watch on his part, in case any of the adherents of the Ex-Rajah should make an attempt to disturb the peace of the Quedah Country. My friend will no doubt take this caution in good part.

I am instructed to add that the Honorable the Governor has long been expecting the arrival of some accredited Envoy from the Rajah of Ligore to reside here, as suggested by the Governor some months ago, and approved by the Right Honorable the Governor General. These Agents would be able to keep my friend and his father fully informed of all proceedings going on here in which they may be interested, and as

some time may elapse before an answer can be received from your father it would be better if my friend sends one or two from Quedah.

(Signed) J. Anderson
Malay Translator.

The 6th December 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 243-4.

Fort Cornwallis The 27th November 1827.

Son of the Rajah of Ligore 15 Decr. 1827.

Translation

of a letter from the Baginda Muda, son of the Rajah of Ligore at Quedah to the Malay Translator.

(After Compliments.)

I beg my friend to inform the Honble. the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, that the letter sent me by Mr. Crab has duly reached me, informing me of the preparations making for the removal of the Rajah of Quedah from Pulo Penang, in conformity to the Treaty; the contents of the letter I fully understand. In respect to the Governor of Pulo Penang and my friend having made preparations to remove the Rajah of Quedah from Pulo Penang agreeably to the Treaty, I am extremely delighted, and when the intelligence [? reaches] the Chow Piya of Ligore, he will also be much pleased, and be greatly obliged to my friend. In respect to what my friend says desiring me to send an Agent to reside at Pulo Penang, I shall make the same known to the Chow Piya of Ligore and whatever he may be pleased to direct I will conform to [and] communicate the same to my friend.

A true translation

(Signed) John Anderson
Malay Translator to Government.

Dated 27 Jemadilawal 1243
or 15th December 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 193-198.

Fort Cornwallis The 17th December 1827.

To the Ex King of Quedah.

To the Ex King of Quedah.

As the day fixed for your departure for Malacca has arrived, and you have made no preparation indicative of any intention to embark on the ship prepared for you, I must conclude that you have finally determined on rejecting the terms offered to you for the continuance of the protection and future support of the British Government. I have only now therefore to fulfil the painful duty of announcing to you the course of conduct which will be observed towards you by this Government, and before I proceed to that part of the subject, I must here recall to your recollection the circumstances under which you sought and have enjoyed the protection of this Government. You were driven out of your country by the Siamese troops of Ligore, an asylum was offered to you on the Island which you accepted. Your person was demanded by the Siamese as a fugitive dependent of the King of Siam. The demand was refused and you were saved from the hands of your enemies. You have now resided more than ten years on this Island. You have been treated with every mark of honor and respect due to your past, and with every mark of kindness and attention due to your present situation, and you have received from the British Government a pecuniary allowance adequate to all your reasonable wants. Neither have your Political Interests been neglected. Various negotiations have been set on foot at different times, and at considerable expense, for no other purpose but to obtain your restoration to your lost rank and situation. Every thing that could be done has been done to promote your interests, short of engaging in actual hostility on your account (a measure which you had no right to expect or demand) by the intervention of the British

Government. Your friends, relations and dependents have been restored to you. In the mean time, circumstances of a political nature connected with another state, and arising out of the very arrangement which restored to you your family, have rendered it necessary and expedient that your place of residence under our protection should be changed from this Island to another neighbouring British Settlement, not a place inhabited by people of another race, language or religion, but by Malays of the same as your own, and where in point of the most scrupulous prejudice no objection can possibly arise. In order to induce you the more readily to comply with the wishes of the British Government favourable terms have been offered, which you had no right whatever to expect or demand. The pecuniary allowance was offered to be increased from 6,000 to 10,000 Dollars per annum, every accommodation was offered you with a view to your rendering yourself more comfortable in your new than you have been in your old habitation. You have been assured that the same marks of honor and respect would be paid to you. You have been assured that your interests would not be lost sight of, that on any future opening that might hereafter offer by negotiation your interests would not be forgotten, and lastly that you would at Malacca be in all respects considered as in exactly the same relative situation with the British Government, as that on which you stood at present. From your late letters I was led to hope that you were disposed to attend to the advice of your best friends, but I am concerned to find that in your ultimate determination the advice of the ill disposed has prevailed. It only remains for me therefore to remind you of what you have already been informed; that when a fugitive Prince seeks protection from another state the latter has the right to dictate the place most convenient to itself for the residence of the * . You have already been informed that Malacca was fixed on for yours, preparations were made for conveying

you thither at the public expense. Instead of at once embracing the opportunity offered for securing to yourself and family a safe and honorable retreat from future * , you have spurned the proffered boon; while owing your safety and existence to this Government, you have assumed the right of dictating to them terms and conditions as if you were in fact as in name a real Sovereign, and rejecting those held out to you, have declined proceeding to the place allotted for you. It follows that you have thereby completely forfeited all right, title or claim to the protection of the British Government. You will no longer therefore be acknowledged here as King of Quedah. Those marks of honor hitherto paid you will be withdrawn; all pecuniary allowance from the Government will now cease, and you must make your own arrangements for your maintenance. The British Government no longer undertakes to protect you from your enemies, nor do they engage to use any influence or exertion whatever under any circumstances to promote your future interests. Having declined the conditions on which you were to proceed to Malacca, those conditions are of course at an end. Whether any pecuniary assistance will ever again be given to you or to any branch of your family must depend on the merciful consideration of the Right Honble. Governor General, and with him it will rest to determine whether you are to be permitted to reside in this Island. While you are here you will be considered no more than any other Malay Inhabitant. No letters whatever will either be written to you or received from you bearing the style or title till now employed. If you have any thing to say you will address yourself to Mr. Caunter, the Superintendent of Police.

* *blanks here in the original.*

(Signed) R. Fullerton
Governor.

The 16th December 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 142, pp. 225-232.

Fort Cornwallis The 27th December 1827.

President's Minute.

As it now appears clear that the Ex King of Quedah will not quit this Island except by compulsion, and as every thing that could be done short of that has been done to induce him to remove and without effect, it only remains to submit the papers that have passed to the Supreme Government. Desirous of carrying the orders of the Right Honorable the Governor General into full effect, and anxious at the same time to avoid any discussion on doubtful points of law arising out of the case, as well as other unpleasant results which might have attended the forcible seizure of that person, we thought it right to attempt, at least, to obtain the benefit of the legal opinion of the Honble. Recorder on the case. The application was made to him under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment, of which he was fully advised. It rested entirely with him, of course, to give or withhold his opinion, but I certainly did not expect that he would have assumed to himself the right of questioning, much less of arraigning, the political measures of the Supreme Government, or of addressing us in a style altogether unprecedented and quite unbecoming the relative situation in which he is placed towards this Government.

It will be perceived by the correspondence that from the 8th to the 12th December the Ex King had evinced a disposition to comply with the wishes of Government, and even intimated his intention of proceeding to Malacca; the exertions of Captain Low and Mr. Caunter had so far succeeded as to induce him to set about preparations for his departure, and a vessel was in readiness for the reception of himself and followers when he suddenly changed his mind, and

completely altered his whole style of conduct and communication with the Commissioners; so sudden a change, and the extraordinary demand of a written paper from me, agreeing to permit him to proceed from Malacca where he pleased, a document which, consistently with the Treaty, could not be given him, sufficiently showed that he was acting under no common advice, and could not but raise a suspicion in my mind that the adviser was a legal one.

It has been ascertained that Sir J. Claridge, the Recorder of this Court, has been the only European Gentleman with whom he has of late held any intercourse, and that visits with him had been interchanged about the period in question. That a public officer, holding the rank and station of Recorder, should have given advice or encouragement to any person in the situation of the Ex King in direct counteraction of the political arrangements of the Supreme Government, and in direct contravention also of a ratified Treaty, or even interfered at all in such arrangements I could scarcely have believed. What passed at the meetings of the Recorder and Ex King I cannot of course say, nor do I think it right at present to take means to ascertain, but duly considering all that has passed, the letter of Sir J. Claridge, the subsequent conduct of the Ex King, the sudden change in his determination, simultaneous with those visits and communications, I can have no doubt whatever in my mind that encouragement has been given and that hopes of assistance from a higher quarter have been held out to the King, which have entirely done away not the influence of this Government only, but of the Supreme Government itself, over the mind of the Ex King. Aware as Sir J. Claridge must have been of the views and objects of the Supreme Government, of the obligations of the Treaty, in respect to the Ex-King, of the situation in which he stood, for they were all explained in our letter, the admission of visits or of any intercourse

whatever, giving countenance thereby to resistance, was in itself an act of impropriety too obvious to admit the excuse of inadvertence, for if the influence attached to the station of the Recorder is to be used in obstructing the measures of the Supreme Government, or of this, not legally before the Court nor even cognizable by it, and in which it has no concern, the legitimate authority of the Executive Government must be completely subverted, the means of executing their proper duties destroyed, and the supremacy of the Recorder established, which I consider myself warranted in saying is too clearly the grand object in view throughout the whole course of his conduct since he came to this Island.

In our proceedings with the Ex King we have been guided entirely by the principle laid down, "That when a fugitive Prince seeks the protection of another state, that state affording it, has the unquestionable right of determining the place of residence of the refugee, as may be most convenient to itself." The Ex King of Quedah has hitherto enjoyed our protection, and has been allowed to reside on this Island. Circumstances have occurred to render it necessary and expedient that he should remove to Malacca. He has been distinctly and repeatedly informed that his residing there is the condition on which alone he can enjoy the continuance of our protection. After more than three months' negotiation, in which every argument has been used, every inducement held out, he peremptorily refuses to remove. It follows therefore, that he has forfeited for the future, all consideration for his interests (right or claim to protection he never possessed). I propose therefore, that the letter, draft of which is annexed, should be sent to him, in the latter part of which an opening is left for any alteration of resolution that may be necessary on receiving the final orders of the Supreme Government, but I confess that his conduct has been such as to

destroy in my mind every feeling of commiseration, and I think we should earnestly recommend to the Supreme Government making his proceeding to Malacca in the first instance, the only condition on which any future consideration will be allowed, the residence of his family there or of that portion to which the Supreme Government may be considerations of humanity be disposed to grant pecuniary assistance, should also be insisted on.

From the letters received from Messrs. Low and Caunter it would appear the residence at Malacca is not now the sole ground of objection, that the object of the Ex King is to remain here, and that force would be required to remove him from this Island. It will be necessary therefore that we should be favoured with the sentiments and instructions of the Supreme Government in what manner we can lawfully proceed. There seems little reason to doubt the exertion of all the influence of the professional judicial authority on the Island against us, and although the Governor and Members of Council concurring in opinion as judges of the Court might by their overwhelming vote counteract any practical effect, it would nevertheless be most desirable that we should act in such case under the best legal opinion that can be obtained. This Government (the whole of these Settlements being within the jurisdiction of the Court of Judicature) possesses no power of enacting legislative regulations to meet such a case. Act 35, Geo: 3, Cap: 84—Sec. 6, the only one framed in respect to aliens, does not apply ; the removal of suspected or disaffected persons has often been and may still be required. It has been done hitherto from the obvious necessity of the case, but as there appears now on the part of the Recorder a disposition to try every act of Government by the most strict and precise rule of law, a test which few newly established or acquired Settlements can bear, it is probable other questions will arise. The

pension hitherto allowed to the Ex King is entirely a political one, granted in consequence of former political connections with the King and his father. Its resumption therefore is certainly not cognizable in a municipal court. Adverting however to the course hitherto pursued by the Honorable the Recorder, we deem it by no means improbable that a claim on the Honorable Company may be urged, nor should we be much surprized to find the Treaty of 1801/2, whereby we bound ourselves to pay 10,000 Dollars for the possession of the Island set up in the Court as the grounds of a suit against this Government.

(Signed) R. Fullerton.

Fort Cornwallis
The 27th December 1827.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 144, pp. 15-16.

Fort Cornwallis January 1828.

Supt. of Police 8 Janry. 1828.

To the Honble. R. Ibbetson Esquire
Resident Councillor.

Honble. Sir,

I have the honor to report that during the last two or three days between 12 and 1300 of the inhabitants of Purlis and Setul have fled from there and come to this Island and Province Wellesley. The reason assigned by these people for their emigration is the tyrannical and oppressive Government of the Siamese, who they state intend compelling the population of these States publicly to swear allegiance to that Government, and to enforce the rite by torture or captivity.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Caunter
Supt. of Police.

Police Office
8 January 1828.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 144, pp. 43-5.

Fort Cornwallis The 9 July 1828.

Governor Genl. in Council Fort William 29 February.

To the Honorable R. Fullerton Esquire
Governor in Council
Prince of Wales Island.

Honorable Sir,

* * * * * *

4. With respect to the Ex Raja of Quedah we deem it sufficient at present to observe, that we do not consider it advisable to attempt his forcible removal from the Island. The communication which you have made to him, adverted to in the 4th paragraph of your letter, is entirely proper, and we authorize you distinctly to inform him, in the name of the Supreme Government, that while he persists in declining to retire with his family to Malacca, or if he prefer it to Siak or Delhi, all pecuniary assistance and allowances will be withheld, and he will forfeit all claim to the future consideration and favor of the British Government. Should the Ex Rajah offer to proceed alone to Siak or Delhi, leaving his family at Prince of Wales Island, it will be sufficient to inform him that until he consents to their removal to Malacca, if they do not accompany him to either of the two places above mentioned, no allowance will be granted to himself or them. His Lordship in Council does not conceive that the Ex Rajah possesses the means of equipping from Siak or Delhi any formidable armament for the recovery of Queda, or has energy sufficient for the undertaking, and as far as regards apprehended acts of piracy, in the event of his settling on the East coast of Sumatra, it will always be in our power to treat such acts as they merit. It may be hoped, however, that without having recourse to the extreme measure which the Law of Nations authorizes for the suppression of pirates, we shall possess sufficient security for the

Ex Raja's goods conduct in the continuance of his pension which will be liable to resumption at our pleasure.

We have &c.

(Signed) Amherst
W. B. Bayley
C. T. Metcalfe

Fort William
29 February 1828.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 144, pp. 93-4.

Fort Cornwallis the 10 September 1828.

Supt. of Police 10 Sept: 1828.

To John Anderson Esquire
Secretary to Government
P. W. Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I beg to submit the following information which I have collected relative to the Ex King of Quedah.

The Honorable the Governor in Council has been made aware that two of his sons have taken up their abode lately at Qualla Muda and are now there with their families, and have also been joined by some, indeed many, of the dependents of the Ex King from hence. I am informed now that it is his intention shortly to join them there, and there is now a vessel belonging to him lying to the Southward in which his property here is to be embarked, after which he will take an early opportunity of leaving this with the greatest secrecy.

It is said that he has engaged in some confederacy with some of his former subjects at Quedah to make away with the few Siamese who are stationed there; and he is then to be reinstated in his former station.

It does not appear however that he has made any warlike preparations among his own immediate followers, though I understand he has secretly been conveying gunpowder to his adherents at Quedah. The date of his intended departure I have not as yet been able precisely to ascertain, though I hear it will be between the 1st and 12th day of the ensuing Moon, and after the performance of certain religious rites which must take place between those days.

I am &c.

(Signed) J. Pattullo
Supt. of Police

Fort Cornwallis
10 September 1828.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 144, p. 96.

Fort Cornwallis The 17 September 1828.

Supt. External Police 12: sept: 1828.

To John Anderson Esquire
Secretary to Government, P. W. Island.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 10th instant, desiring by order of the Government that I should adopt measures in concert with the Superintendent of Internal Police for preventing the clandestine escape of the Ex Rajah of Quedah from this Island.

I now beg to report that I have made arrangements accordingly. At the same time I deem it my duty to state that from the numerous facilities for escape which this Island affords to any individual who is not actually in confinement, and whose person is not attachable, it is not improbable that the Ex Rajah may (if he really meditates such a measure) be enabled to elude the utmost vigilance of the Police and to effect his escape.

I have &c.

(Signed) James Low Captain
Supt. External Police,

P. W. Island.
12: September 1828.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 354.

Fort William 30 January 1829.

No. 5.

Tavoy 30 November 1828.

To A. D. Maingy Esqre.
Civil Commissioner.

Sir,

I beg leave to transmit, through you, for the information of the Supreme Government, the substance of some intelligence received by me viâ Singapore from the Portuguese Consul at Bangkok, Don Carlos de Silveira, as well as the original of a memorandum forwarded to me by Mr. R. Hunter, shewing the benefits which he had derived from the Treaty with Siam during a late visit to Bangkok.

That a Burmese deputation had been sent to Siam, and that the messengers had been detained on the frontiers of that country, agreeably to the practice of the Siamese, are facts which have been known on these Coasts for some time past, and the sentiments reported by the Portuguese Consul to have been expressed on the occasion by the King and Wang-na of Siam respectively, correspond with my knowledge of the characters of each of those personages.

Mr. Leal has received at the same time a letter from Siam, apprizing him that the Rajah of Ligor has been appointed to command the naval part of the expedition under equipment at Bangkok for the war with Cochin China.

I have &ca.

(Signed) H. Burney.
Deputy Commissioner
Tenasserim Provinces.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 354.

Fort William 30 January 1829.

No. 6.

SUBSTANCE of Intelligence received from Don Carlos de Silveira at Bangkok by Captain H. Burney at Tavoy.

It is very probable that the Siamese will lose all their influence over the Laos Provinces, and if these join together, they will be able to annoy the Siamese very much. A letter from the Court[a] of *Phya Aphuy Puthan* gives information of a party of Laos from *Chung-mai*[b] having crossed the *Menam Khong*[c], and attached a party of Siamese who were seizing Laos people to carry them as slaves to Bangkok.

The prisoners were all retaken, many of the Siamese were killed and the remainder were obliged to fly, leaving behind their arms and provisions. The king ordered more troops to be sent, but it being the rainy season, few people went. The letter was received on the 30th May 1828.

July 7th. Ten or twelve days ago, the King received a letter from the King of Ava, brought by an ambassador, who remains at *Menam noi*[d]. This was kept a profound secret till the day before yesterday. I have heard that the letter is written in a very elegant, insinuating style, but the contents a short of

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a. Commander in Chief of the Siamese Army in Southern Laos near Kinchan or Lanchang

b Symes's Zemee – Northern Laos.

c. Great Cambodia River. There must be some mistake in this. Ch-hung-mai, the Zemee or Jehenay of European maps is in about Lat: 20° and Long: 101, and Kinchan the Lan-chang of European maps and the Winkjon of the Dutch ambassadors is in Lat: 18° and Long: 103 upon the Great Cambodia River, Menam Khlong. Perhaps another Laos Principality, Chhiung rai, nearer the river, is meant.

d. A Siamese frontier post to the northwards of the 3 Pagodas and N E. of Tavoy.

Jeremiad.. His Majesty says that what had formerly been predicted by the Saints had come to pass, that in the course of time the Burmese country would fall under the dominion of a Christian Power, but that it could not remain so long, as the English are not of the same religion as the Burmese and Siamese. The principal object of the letter is to induce the Siamese Government to join with the Burmese in driving the English out of India. I believe the letter contains other particulars which I have not yet been able to learn. The King proposed to send the ambassador back from the frontier but the Wang-na recommended that he should be received, that they might learn all that he had to communicate and then inform the English of it. The King however insisted upon sending back the Ambassador without any answer. The Burmese are not crushed enough yet.

The 14th July the Dutch Ship Concordia arrived from Batavia with an Agent Mr. Schinimar. The cargo consists of arrack, white cloth, chintz and some other articles not suited for the Siamese market. Up to this date, 7th August, nothing has been sold.

On the 20th July a letter from Khorat brought the details of an act of treachery committed by Chao Kenchan [e]. Phya Ophny Puthan was stationed at Pabo 25 Coros [f] distant from Menam Khong, and Phya Pechai Son Cram with Rummichan on the banks of that river, that they might seize the remainder of the inhabitants of Kinchan. An Embassy consisting of 100 people arrived from Cochin China who immediately crossed the river to confer with the Siamese officers of Chao Kinchan.

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e. The Prince of Lanchang or Langang of European maps, who has lately been driven out of his Principality.

f. A Coro is 20 Siamese fathoms of 6½ English feet each.

The Ambassador said he had come from the King of Cochin China to propose the restoration of that Prince to his own territory, and to obtain for him the King of Siam's pardon, that another embassy was to proceed by sea to Bangkok, with presents, and that Chao Kinchan would return to his own city in a few days. The Siamese Officers being satisfied with what the Ambassador said went the same day to tell the General, Phya Aphuy Phuton, the result of the interview. He was also much pleased and desired them to bring the Ambassador to him. The next day Chao Kinchan arrived at Kinchan. He accosted the two Siamese offiicers in the most friendly manner, embracing them and talking to them as if they were his brothers, and begged they would accompany him to see the General the next day. They met accordingly, and were all seated close together, when one of Chao Kinchan's people fired a musket at Phya Pichai Son Cram and killed him on the spot. Rammichan ran away and threw himself into the river, but was killed by a spear. About 500 Siamese were killed and many taken prisoners with their arms and a great quantity of paddy. The General having only 250 men with him fled to Non Bon Lambu, about 4 days' journey from Pabo. The King was very angry when he heard of the stupid conduct of those officers. War with Cochin China seems inevitable and preparations are making for it. People are busy making the gun boats and the *Phra Khlang* is going to Bamplassoy Chantibun and Thong jai[g] to hasten their completion at those places.

11th August 1828. Mr. Schiniman, the Dutch Agent from Batavia, was exempted yesterday, as a special favour from the King, from paying duty on the goods he had brought and had free liberty given him to buy and sell as he pleased, in consideration of the same indulgence having lately been granted by

g. On the frontiers of Cambodia.

the Batavian Government to 7 junks belonging to the King trading to that place.

The Agent had waited so long for the King's decision that he had determined to sell his cargo for any thing he could get for it, and pay any duties and charges the Siamese pleased, and he was certain that the Government of Batavia would make the first junk that arrived there from Siam, pay the duties of the 7 junks, and also for all his losses. The goods he has brought are not suited to the market, as they are of too good quality, nevertheless he will be able to sell them without loss. The white cloth is very broad and strong enough, fine red handkerchiefs and beautiful bed covers, some pretty good muskets of 1 and 2 barrels, and narrrow chintz in long pieces, and some striped cloth to make trousers and also 28 Leaguers of Batavia Rum.

(Signed) H. Burney

Deputy Commissioner
Tenasserim Provinces.

Tavoy
30th November 1828.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 354.

Fort William 30th January 1829.

No. 7.

MEMORANDUM transmitted by Mr. R. Hunter to Captain H. Burney at Tavoy.

Duties to spec: G. Noormahul to Siam, say according to the old Plan would have been vizt.

Import Duty on 90,000 Rs. at 8 Per Cent	Rs.	7,200
Brig's measurement Duty	,,	1,700
Paknam and Paklat Charges	,,	160
5000 Ps. Sugar bought by me 1½ Rs. ...	,,	7,500
382 Bs. Tin ad 3 rs.	,,	1,146
140 Ps. Stic Lac @ 1½	,,	210
100 Ps. Sapan wood difference of price 4r. before, now 1½	,,	250
6 Ps. of Ivory ad 10	,,	60
	Rs.	18,226
According to your Treaty the Brig measuring 3 fms. 1 rubt. & 1/6 at 1700 Rs.	Rs.	5,596
	Rs.	12,630

In favour of new Treaty twelve thousand six hundred and thirty Rs. besides if I could have got Camboge or Ivory to have invested all my funds, the balance would have been much more in favour. Now we have no trouble with clerks, weighmen, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) R. Hunter.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, p. 3.

Fort Cornwallis The 3rd January 1829.

Captain Low 2d January 1829.

To J. W. Salmond Esquire
Acting Deputy Secretary to Government.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter received by me from the Raja Muda at Quedah requesting that certain people who have left that country to reside in Province Wellesley may be sent back.

I request permission to observe that the numerous parties of Malays which have lately emigrated from Quedah have been driven to that extremity by the *harsh and oppressive* measures of the Siamese Chiefs.

I have suggested to the Raja Muda that references of this nature should be made to Government, not to me.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low.

Fort Cornwallis
The 2 January 1829.

ORDERED that Captain Low be informed that unless the people are Criminals, they cannot be forcibly returned.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 1-2 (2d set of paging.)

Fort Cornwallis 23rd February 1829.

Rajah Muda.

Translation

of a letter from the Rajah Muda, son of the Rajah of Ligore at Quedah, to the Malay Translator.

I request my friend will inform the Honble. the Governor of Pulo Penang that Twanku Koodin, the nephew of the Rajah of Quedah, and Twanku Daggang, Twanku Jaffar, the two sons of Twanku Long Puteh, with Panglima Manan and two peons formerly in the English service at Kwala Prye, and two persons named Che Men Alli and Che Ahiya, who reside at Tanjong Tokong, and Panglima Saiu, Panglima Punghu, Imam Semahun, Che Haji, Panglima Hoosein, Panglima Meir, Panglima Hoosein who resides at Teluk Ayer Tawar, Che Rhio, Awang Lahat, Che Akkub who reside at Pulo Penang, took English colours, stating that they were going to look for a livelihood, and they went and seized 16 people who were guarding the birds' nests at Pulo Metia, and 8 people of Salang. In returning they seized 30 people belonging to Pulo Langkawi. On the 12th of Shaban, Twanku Din, Twanku Daggang, Twanku Jaffar and the Panglimas who are named above, came to the sea beach in the night. Twanku Din, Twanku Daggang, Twanku Jaffar and all the Panglimas above named came on shore and approached the Fort where I reside and attacked it, and fought with and fired upon the Siamese. Twanku Din, Twanku Jaffar, Twanku Daggang and the Panglimas above named fled to their prows and these people are concerting to commit mischief and to infringe the Treaty made by the Right Honble. Lord Amherst, Governor General of Bengal. I therefore request my friend to seize them according to the custom of the English.

Moreover, respectable Chinese, Malays and Chooliahs are reporting that the Rajah of Quedah is going to send Twanku Abdullah, Twanku Din his sons, and Twanku Long Puteh the husband of Twanku Jam Jam, with some Malays at Kwala Prye to go across the country to do mischief to Quedah. If such is true as stated, I request my friend will prevent them, and that there may be no infringement of the Treaty made between the English and Siamese. Written on Thursday the 16 Shaban.

A true Translation.

Penang
The 23rd February 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 2-3 (2d set of paging)

Fort Cornwallis 23rd February 1829.

Letter

To Rajah Muda.

from the Acting Resident Councillor to the Rajah Muda, son of the Rajah of Ligore at Quedah.

I have this morning received my friend's letter dated 16 Shaban, in reply to which I have to acquaint him that the Honble. the Governor lately proceeded to Singapore, but the purport of my friend's letter shall be communicated to him immediately. Meantime, I lose no time in dispatching two vessels to look after the pirates who have been making incursions on the Quedah coast, and I have given directions to the officers of Government here to keep a most vigilant watch over the proceedings of the Ex Rajah of Quedah and his followers, and to prevent, by every possible means, all attempts to disturb the peace of my friend's Government at Quedah. My friend may be assured of the anxious desire of this Government to observe the stipulations of the Treaty as strictly as possible, but he must also be sensible how difficult it is to watch closely the proceedings of such a multitude of Malays and refugees scattered about in this quarter and it will be necessary for my friend to take proper precautions for defence, while every exertion shall be used to prevent any hostile equipments here.

(Signed) J. Anderson
Acting Resident Councillor.

Penang
23rd February 1829.

Fort Cornwallis 23rd February 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 3-4. (2nd set of paging).

To J. Pattullo Esquire

Superintendent of Police.

Sir,

I herewith transmit for your information copy of a translation of a letter just received from the Rajah Muda, son of the Rajah of Ligore at Quedah, and to request you will proclaim by beat of gong throughout the town, that any persons residing under this Government aiding or abetting the Rajah of Quedah or any of his followers in making an attack on Quedah or any of the places on the coast will be treated as pirates, and if you have any reason to believe that the proceedings of his relatives and followers, as reported by the Young Chief at Quedah, have been by his connivance or assistance, you are authorized to inform him that if he is detected in any endeavours to subvert the existing Government at Kedah, he will be put into restraint.

You are also authorised to engage any additional number of peons you may require to keep a vigilant watch over the proceedings of the refugees, to seize the parties mentioned in the Young Chief's letter, if found within the jurisdiction of the Island.

The two armed cutters will be dispatched to Quedah this evening to look after the pirates.

I am &ca.

(Signed) J. Anderson

Acting Resident Councillor.

23rd February 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 9-11 (2d set of paging).

Fort Cornwallis 25th February 1829.

Governor in Council.

To the Honble. R. Fullerton Esquire

Governor in Council.

Honble. Sir,

With reference to my letter of the 23rd instant I have now the honor to transmit for your information annexed copies of a letter from Captain Low, Superintendent of Police, Province Wellesley, with my reply, and orders to the Master Attendant. The Officer commanding the troops having upon the recommendation of the Master Attendant and my requisition sent 12 sepoys on board the two gun boats, the vessels sailed yesterday in pursuit of the pirates.

2. Mr. Pattullo the Superintendent of Police has also handed me a letter to his address from the Ex Rajah of Quedah, of which the enclosed is a translation.

3. Whether the proceedings already noticed are by the Ex Rajah's direct authority or not, it is impossible for me to say, but it is not, I dare say, probable, that he will be anxious, so long as he remains on this island in the midst of his late subjects, to discourage with much sincerity either them or his relatives who have the means to annoy and distress the Siamese, even if he does not retain influence over them, which he disclaims. The Chiefs named Twanku Din and Twanku Long Puteh are notorious pirates, and it is generally believed that their attacks on the Quedah coast do not arise from any devotion to the interests of the Ex Rajah, the object being plunder, with a total recklessness of the ultimate result as far as regards the welfare of that Chief.

4. In adopting the precautionary measures which I have the honor to report, I have had reference to former proceedings on record and especially to the commands of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council in the dispatch under date the 26th November 1827 * (paragraph 5), an extract from which, as well as a copy of the last communication made to the Ex Rajah through the Superintendent of Police on the 4 November last *, are annexed for more immediate reference.

* This document has not been traced.

5. The Siamese have a very small force at Quedah, and this, it is supposed, offers a great temptation to attack by some of the more desperate refugees, assisted by pirates from other quarters. A question naturally arises whether the British Government is to be expected to guarantee the present possessors of Quedah in the tranquil possession of the country and guard the coasts as formerly engaged with the Malayan Government, and whether the Siamese should not be bound to keep a sufficient force for their own protection as well as to cooperate against the numerous pirates infesting the neighbourhood, as the Malayan Chief did in former years. This Government has been constantly called upon by the Siamese Authorities at Quedah to prevent any infringement of the Treaty and to keep the numerous Malayan refugees in order, and this has been done as far as possible; but the best precautions will sometimes not avail, and we are burthened with an increased expense in maintaining armed vessels, additional police &ca. to keep a disorderly mass of refugees in check.

I have &ca.

(Signed) J. Anderson
Acting Resident Councillor.

Fort Cornwallis
The 25th February 1829.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 354.

No. 16.

Fort William 1st May 1829.

Tavoy 28 February 1829.

To A. D. Maingy Esqr.
Civil Commissioner.

Sir,

I do myself the honor to report to you, that the messengers whom I dispatched to Bangkok with letters to the Portuguese Ex-Consul have just returned with a letter from the Deputy Foreign Minister of which I enclose a translation. The Portuguese Consul informs me that the Cochin Chinese had deputed two Missions to the Court of Siam in order to effect a reconciliation between that Court and the Prince of Southern Laos or King Chin,* but that both Missions have entirely failed, and that subsequently the Prince had been captured and brought to Bangkok where preparations are being made for executing [him] with very great tortures. The circumstance of this Prince having been apprehended will, Mr. Silveira imagines, put an end to the differences which had for some time past existed between Cochin China and Siam, and the Court of Bangkok with this view, was about to depute a Complimentary Mission to Cochin China.

* Vieng Chan. (1)

* * * * * *

I have &c.
(Signed) H. Burney.
Dy. Comr.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 14.

No. 93.

Fort William 30th April 1830.

Memoranda from the King of Quedah.
the 16th March 1829.

The Kingdom of Quedah descended from my ancestors to me with the dignity and title of King, in respect of which the Kings of Quedah have been in the custom of presenting the Boongah Mass or Gold Tree as a mark of respect to the King of Siam, but the Kingdom of Quedah was in no wise a tributary state to the King of Siam, with whom my ancestors many times went to war. On my taking refuge on this Island, I understood I was to receive the protection of the King of England, and that my children were to receive the same protection. When I was on the throne I sent my son and my minister to Siam, to the King of Siam, at which meeting the King of Siam told my son that he wished to send an army to attack the country of Perak. My son and the Bandara (Minister) consulted together and were aware that if the Siamese were to send an army to Perak, they must pass through Quedah, and that would occasion great surprise and disquiet among the subjects of Quedah, and might cause a war to take place between the countries of Siam and Quedah. On this the Bandara (Minister) engaged with the King of Siam respecting the country of Perak that he would collect an army and go and attack them, and that there was no occasion for His Majesty to trouble himself on the subject. The King of Siam was much pleased, and I paid all the expenses of the war on taking Perak. There afterwards came the message of Rajah Lagore (King of Ligore) as King for rice and paddy for the supply of the army which was going against Cochin China; I prepared all the rice and paddy accordingly, and after this came a letter saying that the Rajah Ligore had sent peons to receive the rice and paddy. When the peons

arrived they were allowed to come into the river. They sent for the Bandara Laksamana and the Tumangong (my ministers then in charge) and demanded the rice and paddy. The Bandara answered the rice and paddy were ready. While talking together they suddenly seized the Bandara Laksamana and the Tumangong and murdered them, and many more of my establishment were murdered by them. At that time I was at Marahbooh River, so that no immediate news could come to me. The Siamese came into Marahbooh River and fired, and plundered the country, and murdered all the inhabitants. When my family heard of this outrage, they became so alarmed that I was obliged to take them on elephants and brought them to Prye in Province Wellesley, my wish being to put them all under the charge and care of my brother Rajah Solyman at Prye, and then to return and attack the Siamese. About this time a messenger from Governor Phillips by Mr. Cracraft, Major Combs and Mr. John Anderson came to Prye requesting me to meet the Governor and stated that Governor Phillips sent them to conduct me and my family over to Poolo Penang, the Governor wishing to assist me agreeably to the engagement of the Company with my father, through Mr. Light, who came into Quedah by desire of the Company and who by Treaty were engaged, that if any enemy should come from sea against Quedah, the Company would themselves fight those enemies, and if the enemy came from the land the Company should assist with money, expenses, arms, guns, powder and shots, and further if the slaves of Quedah people should run away to Poolo Penang, the Government should allow them to be taken back, and further to pay yearly the sum of ten thousand dollars as rent or income and many more points were made in the Engagement which will be found in the books of the Secretary's Office of the Government This gave me great assurance that the Company would not fail to assist me, and I

accordingly brought my family over to Poolo Penang. Immediately on my arrival at Poolo Penang, Governor Phillips gave me all the respects due to my rank, and requested of me to remain in Poolo Penang, stating that he would send letters to the Governor General and Council in Bengal to grant me assistance to retake the country of Quedah from the Siamese, and reinstate me, agreeably to the Engagement of the Company with my father. In the year 1238 on the 19th of the month Mohorum, Governor Phillips sent a letter requesting me to wait until the return of Mr. Crawfurd from Siam. Governor Phillips gave me for my expenses five hundred dollars per month, avowing, should I still wish to go away from Poolo Penang he would not stop me, and that I was free. And further in the year 1238 on the 25th day of the month Rajah, Governor Phillips sent another letter, informing me that he had received an answer from the Governor General and Council of Bengal in regard to my wish to go from Poolo Penang to endeavour to get my country back. That the Governor in no wise wished to debar me from carrying my intention into effect, and that the Governor General had given his promise, that every assistance should be given for my ease and comfort as long as I should remain in Poolo Penang, and further that the Governor General had a strong wish to assist me and use his influence with the Siam Power to get back my country. In the year 1238 on the 3rd day of the month Loolhahedah Governor Phillips wrote to me another letter respecting my income, during the time of my residence in Poolo Penang, and that I should get 500 dollars monthly. That in the year 1825 on the 1st day of October, Governor Phillips sent another letter respecting me and my family stating that it was his wish to reinstate me and family in our former dignity and respectability as heretofore, and recommending me to wait until a fair opportunity should offer. That in the year 1242 on the 19th day of the month

Jaffer, Governor Fullerton's letter to me states the Engagements of the Siam Government with Mr. Burney, which has been communicated to me, expressing a wish for me to quit Poolo Penang, at which place I sought refuge. I have well considered these points, and I do not wish to change my place of residence or to avoid the protection of the Honble. the East India Company, or to throw a doubt upon British good faith, or the Laws of Hospitality. After that letter two or three other letters I have received from the present Governor desiring me to go to Malacca, and accompanied by threats, with which I could not comply consistently with good feeling, and recollecting that I came to Poolo Penang on the solicitation of Governor Phillips, who professed his wish to ratify the Company's and my father's Engagement. It is now the endeavour to send me off to a distance from my late kingdom, so that I may forego all opportunity of reinstatement in my kingdom, so as to accommodate treaties with my enemies to which I have not been consenting. I do not wish to go to Malacca and as I came to Poolo Penang with the invitation of Governor Phillips, who promised to let me return to my country Quedah, and as it was on the faith that the Company would not evade their promise, or throw aside their sacred engagement, on this offer that I consented to remain on this Island. In the year 1238 on the 1st day of the month Rajab, on Thursday, Governor Fullerton, by letter, orders me to remove to Malacca, or Siak, or Dellie and threatens that if I do not submit to and follow his commands that what he terms my allowance would be stopped, and no more respect would be shown to me, that I must consider myself the same as the inhabitants in general, and I am forbidden to write to or send any letter to him, the Governor, and I am degraded with the uncourteous threats of being referred to the common police, an act I am confident which would not be sanctioned by the Honble. Company towards a Monarch, though under

afflictions. Not contented with such insult solely, this Governor causes the Gong to beat through the Island prohibiting any person from selling any vessel, balls, gun powder and arms to me and any of my people. I have still to state, that in order to add to my distressing fate, bordering almost upon want, the rent or payment due to me as heir to my father, and by which Prince of Wales Island and Province Wellesley are held of the Crown of Quedah, has been purposely kept in arrear during the last fifteen months, an injustice, unless redressed, which will drive me to the highest authorities with my complaints, which are too numerous to be detailed in this paper.

It is therefore to the Governor General of India that I call for redress of my grievances, namely, that notwithstanding my misfortunes I may be treated with that respect which is due to me as the King of a country, the Government of which I have been unjustly deprived of. That the solemn Engagement entered into on the part of the Honble. Company on my taking refuge in Prince of Wales Island be in all things performed. That the rents or payments by which the said Island and Province Wellesley are held, be immediately paid up, and regularity in future be observed respecting such payments.

That my residence in Prince of Wales' Island may be rendered more respectable, and that so long as I do remain in the Island, a Guard be assigned as formerly, and that I may be at liberty to return to my own kingdom when I may think fit, nevertheless upon such terms as may be reciprocally suitable to the interest of both parties.

Fallen and reduced as I am at present, I shall look forward to a better understanding between myself and the Honble. Company when the fair statement of my case shall be known, together with a detail of the

wrongs and insults I have endured and I challenge the the production of my proof that during my residence in this Island, I have deported myself otherwise than with submissive conduct, even under oppression.

I beg to annex to this paper a translation of the notice I received from the Police Magistrate on the 28th February last, on which I need make no observation at present.

This letter is as a mark of faith and clearness and presents that love which comes from me the Police Magistrate and is to reach my friend Yong do Pertuan Quedah who is honored and celebrated. The occasion is that Mr .Anderson has received a letter from Quedah stating that Tuanko Long Pootee, and Tuanko Din were causing disturbances with the Siamese. Mr. Anderson having duly considered that if they were not authorised by my friend they never would have done so! This is to acquaint my friend, if it should be found to be true and that my friend has given such encouragement, or my friend is really concerned in this business, and it should so appear to me, on that very moment my friend will get the punishment of being put under arrest and a guard of sepoys. Of this take notice, written on the 23d February 1829.

(Signed) J. Pattullo
Supt. of Police.

From the King of Queda.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 2-3 (3d set of paging)

Fort Cornwallis The 24th March 1829.

To John Anderson Esquire

Secretary to Government

Prince of Wales Island.

Supt. of Police Province Wellesley dated 24 March 1829.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council three several reports received this day from the Thanadar of the Muda District, by which it would appear that the Siamese have sent an armed party to the Chinese Farmer's village on the north bank of the Muda River, and that their object is to apprehend Tuanko Long Putih the pirate, who has been lately creating disturbance at Kedah. The party it seems are awaiting fresh orders from the Siamese Chief.

It is reported that Tuanko Long Putih is lurking in the jungle, either within the Province or close on the border.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low

Supt. of Police, Prov: Wellesley.

Province Wellesley
24th March 1829.

ORDERED that the Superintendent of Police of Province Wellesley be directed to afford every assistance to the Siamese in apprehending the pirate Tuanko Long Putih.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145. pp. 6-8 (3d set of paging).

Fort Cornwallis The 7 April 1829.

Translation

Chief at Quedah dated 26 March 1829.

of a letter from the Rajah Muda at Quedah, son of the Chow Piya of Ligore to the Acting Resident Councillor of Pulo Penang.

(After Compliments.)

I beg my friend will acquaint the Honorable Robert Fullerton, Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore and Malacca, that during the last month Tuanko Din with certain Panglimas named came and entered the Quedah River with 15 or 16 prows during the night, landing and committing a disturbance, intending to attack the fort in which I reside: these circumstances I have already made known to my friend in a letter which I sent by Hakim Itam and Che Mat last month—all was stated therein.

During the present month the Rajah of Quedah sent Tuanko Long Puteh, the husband of Tuanko Jamjam and the Rajah's brother-in-law together with Tuanko Long Putih's three sons, also Pangkooloo Pa-Ally who resides at Penaga (Province Wellesley) also Che Etam residing at Miniah, also Tuanko Akkil who resides with Tuanko Jamjam, Hadji Abdullah who resides at Pulo Penang, near the house of the Ex Rajah of Quedah, together with the people of Penaga, about 300 people more more or less. All these came armed and equipped intending to attack and take Quedah. On the fourth day of this month Tuanko Long Putih arrived at a place called Padang Pusing and seized a Chinese Compong erecting a stockade and seized some Malay people of Quedah, impressing them into his service to assist in making war. In consequence of this the Malays were frightened and fled in numbers, a part came to me and reported that Tuanko

Long Putih and his 3 son Panghooloo Pa Ally, Che Itam, Tuanko Akkil and Hadji Abdullah, with a great many ryots, were committing great oppression upon the inhabitants, and exciting a great disturbance: on receiving this intelligence I sent Aluang Kromluk and some Siamese in that direction. When these Siamese reached,* Tuanko Long Putih with the before mentioned persons fought with those persons under Aluang Kromluk from the morning till noon. Tuanko Long's forces were routed and fled across the river of Kwalla Muda entering my friend's territory, and now residing with Tuanko Jamjam at a place called Pematang Bindahari. Tuanko Din, the nephew of the Rajah of Quedah, and Tuanko Long Putih, brother-in-law of the Rajah, and the other people already mentioned went and carried on war in the Quedah country, thereby breaking the Treaty of the Right Honorable Lord Amherst, Governor General of Bengal, which was made by Captain Burney at the capital with the great King, also with my father the Chow Piya of Ligore, who established a friendship with the Right Honorable Lord Amherst Governor General of Bengal and the Honorable Robert Fullerton, Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore and Malacca and my friend. Moreover as the Rajah of Quedah sent these people, Tuanko Din and Tuanko Long Putih and all the others mentioned to go and attack Quedah I request my friend to search and seize these persons, and punish them according to the custom of the English. I request my friend will let me know what proceedings he may take in the matter, agreeably to the rules of friendship.

* sic Quedah.

Dated 18th Ramlan 1244.

A true Translation
(Signed) John Anderson
Malay Translr. to Government

Penang
The 26 March 1826.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 354.

Fort William 1st May 1829.

No. 15.

Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces.

To G. Swinton Esqre.

Chief Secretary to Government

Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose translation of a letter in the Talain language brought me lately by some traders from Bangkok. It is addressed to Major General Sir A. Campbell, to whom the bearers of the letter were desired to communicate the circumstance of a party of Burmese having been sent into the Dominion of Siam and of their having been seized and confined at [the] town of Kamboori where the Court of Siam ordered that they should remain until such time as the Major General signified his wishes whether the Burmese should be delivered up to him.

I told the bearers and I addressed a communication to the same purport to Maha Yotha, that I should be happy to take charge of these Burmese and the Taliens returned to Siam professedly with an intention of obtaining orders for bringing the men to me. Should the men arrive it is my intention, after examining them, to send them over to Rangoon with a Letter to the Woonggy stating that I had taken charge of them, fearing that they might receive some injury at the hands of the Siamese and requesting the Woonggy to ascertain from the Men themselves for what purpose the Chief Oozanah had sent them to Siam.

I beg also to enclose a copy of a letter from the Deputy Commissioner. . . . .

I have &c.

(Signed) A. D. Maingy
Commissioner in the
Tenasserim Provinces.

Amherst
12th April 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 42-4 (3d set of paging).

Fort Cornwallis The 8 June 1829.

To A. Sterling Esquire
Acting Secretary to Government.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter and other papers from Mr. Swinton, relative to the residence of the Ex King or Rajah of Quedah in the Island of Pénang.

2. I conceive that if an attempt were made to remove a fugitive Prince from any part of the Presidencies in India where English law prevails, the local Court would, upon application being made to it, have the power to interfere and decide on the legality of the removal. And this appears to me to be one of the difficulties which have arisen from the introduction of the English system of laws into a country where the manners of the people, the nature of our Dominion, and the powers requisite for the Government, are so different from what they are at home. The Statute 55 Geo. 3d, C. 84, S. 6. seems to have been framed with a different view, and to be applicable only to the Subjects of a foreign State, who are not natives of parts within the limits of the Charter of the United Company.

3. I conceive that the Treaty made between the United Company and the King of Quedah in 1802 is at an end, so far at least as relates to the Ex King or Rajah himself. It is of the nature of those Treaties which the writers upon International Law have termed 'real," and even if it were looked upon as "personal" it is one of those which would be terminated when the Rajah of Quedah had lost his power and fled from the country. In the Treaty the Rajah who executed it not only speaks in express terms of "his Dominions" but undertakes on his part to perform many articles of the treaty which

require the exercise of the powers of Government. The stipend of 10,000 dollars is granted for considerations which he is no longer able to fulfil, and it would not be consistent either with the Law of Nations or with common reason that the Treaty should be obligatory upon one party and wholly without influence on the other. I will add that a Treaty between independent states (and that in question appears to me of this class), is not, even while in force, cognizable in a Municipal Court, but is a proper subject for the consideration of the respective Governments who are parties to it, on principles of international law.

4. If however, the Ex Rajah should prefer a claim grounded on the Treaty of 1802 for the stipend originally payable under it, the Court will have to decide upon their authority to entertain the question. In what manner or at what time it may be proper for the United Company to offer an objection to the jurisdiction, I am not able to say without a further knowledge of the forms of proceeding to be established in the Court at Penang, but from the directions contained in the Charter (p. 28) I take it for granted that they will be of the most simple kind, and that no difficulty can occur in bringing forward the point in question. If it should happen that the Court determines that it is competent to enter upon the enquiry, and should decide against the United Company, an appeal is given by the Charter to the King in Council, and of the result, I cannot bring myself to admit a doubt.

I have &ca.

(Signed) Jno. Pearson
Advocate General.

Fort William
The May 9 1829.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 355.

Fort William 10th July 1829.

No. 3.

To G. Swinton Esqre,
Secretary to Government
Political Department
Fort William.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honble. the Governor in Council to request you will submit to the notice of the Right Honble. the Governor General in Council the enclosed correspondence with the Rajah of Ligore, relative to some recent disturbances in the Quedah territory and the proceedings of the Ex Rajah of that country, his relatives and late subjects.

I have &c.

(Signed) J. Anderson
Secretary to Government.

Fort Cornwallis
the 11th May 1829.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 355.

Fort William 10th July 1829.

No. 4.

Translation of a letter from the Chow Piya of Ligore to the Honble. R. Fullerton, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

(After Complimcnts.)

I beg to inform my friend that I sent for my son the Rajah of Quedah to come to Ligore, and appointed Pra Sena Nuchit to act as Raja Muda for my son together with Pra Sethi SongKram Belat and other Siamese Chiefs to take care of Quedah and carry on its affairs agreeably to the Treaty.

On the 27th day of 3d month Pra Sena Nuchit my son, the Raja Muda, Pra Sethi SongKram Belat, who were at Quedah, sent a letter to my son, the Rajah of Quedah, stating that on the 12th day of the 3d month Tuanko Din, the nephew of the former Rajah of Quedah, Tuanko Dagong, Tuanko Iaafar the son of Tuanko Song Putih, with Panglima Maa n Panglima Amwang Lahat, Panglima Sayon, Panglima Hussain, Panglima Min, Chee Rou, Chee Auggor, Chee Mat Ally, Chee Jaga and Che Akhil, in all 13 Malay Panglimas, with 13 Prows and crews and arms, entered the mouth of the Quedah River, and at midnight they brought their prows close to the shore where they landed, passing along the sea shore, with the intention of doing mischief at Quedah ; but they did not carry it into execution, for when they approached close, information was given to Pra Sena Nuchit, who is acting for my son, informing him that Tuanko Din with all his followers were coming along the sea shore, and Pra Sena Nuchit, who is acting for my son, on hearing this report sent Pra Sethi SongKram Belat with other Siamese Chiefs and a party of men to attack and oppose them in order to preserve the country. They fell in with Tuanko Din

and commenced fighting with muskets, and one of the Siamese Chiefs was shot by one of Tuanko Din's people, and it being flood tide Tuanko Din and his party fled with their prows to sea.

Moreover on the 7th day of the 4th month Pra Sena Nuchit, who is acting for my son, and Pra Sethi SongKram Belat sent me a letter acquainting me that Tuanko Abdullah, the son of the former Rajah of Quedah, and his brother in law Tuanko Song Puteh, concerted with Wan Aboobehas and Wan Harrum, together with Malay people of Prye and Kwala Muda to come into the country to attack Quedah, as Tuanko Abdullah, the son of the former Rajah of Quedah and Tuanko Din did once before; they thought on this occasion to come and repeat the mischief. These Malay relatives and adherents of the late Rajah of Quedah, who are residing near Pulo Penang, were aware that the Rajah of Quedah had gone to Ligore, and they concerted to commit mischief at variance with the Treaty. I request my friend will give orders to the cruizers to examine the sea and coasts and discover any persons committing mischief and such as are found doing so punish them according to custom. Such I make known to my friend that he may be aware. I have sent back my son the Rajah of Quedah to Quedah, to be established agreeably to the Treaty which is fixed between the Siamese and English for the purpose of pursuing friendship between them while the earth and sky continue. I request my friend who is exalted, to punish these wicked people with severity and restrain them from such pursuits at sea and on shore and all the people of the country will cultivate and plant paddy, and carry on business in security.

The above is what I have made known in a former communication. Moreover on the 16th day of 3d month, Aluang Burin Deja, a Siamese Chief of Purlis, sent a letter informing me that Tuanko Din and followers brought prows to Purlis and seized Che Daud

and Che Alli, and sent letters to induce the people at Purlis to create mischief in Purlis, by which means the people of the country are unsettled and cannot gain a livelihood. I therefore send Koon Aksorn to make this known, so that my friend may be informed. Moreover I perceive that so long as the former Rajah of Quedah had been residing near there has been much of these proceedings, and they will not cease. I therefore request my friend to take into consideration how the Treaty between Quedah and Pulo Penang may be conformed to, so that they may become one for my friend, and I trust that means may be taken to stop the proceedings of these wicked people.

Dated 13th Rama—year Pi kuln.

Penang the 5th May 1829.

(A true Translation)

(Signed) J. Anderson
Malay Translator to Government.

Letter from the Honble. Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore and Malacca, to the Rajah of Ligore.

I have duly received my friend's duplicate letter relative to the proceedings of Tuanko Din and Tuanko Song Puteh, respecting which my sentiments have already been conveyed to my friend. I have now only to repeat that no protection is afforded to these evil disposed people within the British territory, and the armed vessels belonging to this Government are constantly employed in pursuit of the pirates in the vicinity of this Island.

(Signed) R. Fullerton
Governor.

Penang the 11th May 1829.

To

The Honble. R. Fullerton Esqre.
Governor &c. &c. &c.

Honble. Sir,

Agreeably to your desire I have now the honor to submit translations of the 7 notes handed to me by Koon Aksorn, the bearer of the Rajah of Ligore's letters; no allusion is made in the letter to these notes which profess to be copies of papers found by the Siamese on Tuanko Song Puteh's making a hasty retreat from a small stockade near the borders in the Quedah territory, on his late predatory expedition.

I have &c.

(Signed) J. Anderson
Malay Translator to Govt.

Fort Cornwallis the 11th May 1829.

No. 1.

Translation of a Note from the Ex Rajah of Quedah to Tuanko Song Puteh.

I formerly sent a letter to you desiring you to arrange with my son, Tuanko Abdullah, to proceed to Quedah, in consequence of Paduka Maha Mantri having called you and your three sons; but I have now received certain intelligence that Paduka Maha Mantri has been put to death by the Siamese. It will be better therefore to consult with your two sons not to proceed to Quedah at present, for all the inhabitants of Quedah are now in great dread of the Siamese, and it is my opinion that if you and your sons were to go to Quedah accompanied only by Quedah people you would certainly all suffer as Paduka Maha. Such being the case, you should stop for a time until the Rajah of Bengal arrives, when I will see him for a little and we will go together. I am only waiting for this cause.

Moreover you must give intimation to Tuanko Din as herein mentioned.

Dated 23d Rajab 1244.

No. 2.

From the Ex Rajah of Quedah to Tuanko Song Puteh and (his wife) Tuanko Jam Jam.

I have received information that Tuanko Dagang has proceeded to Pulo Lacavy to follow Tuanko Din. I am of opinion it was not proper to let him go, because it may possibly lead to difficulty with the English and I am waiting only for the Rajah of Bengal, in order that I may settle all my business and and if they do not confirm to the old Treaty, I will arrange for quitting Pulo Penang and proceed where I please.

With respect to the Rajah of Bengal the reports are that he will arrive here in 10 or 11 days. It is better therefore to wait and hear what is the determination of the people. Wherefore I request you will recall your son (that is Tuanko Dagang).

Dated 6th Rajab 1244.

No. 3.

From Tuanko Din to Tuanko Song Puteh.

With respect to your directions conveyed by Panjaung that I should endeavour to make arrangements for getting you out of the Krian, the cruizers are keeping very strict watch at present from the harbour to Puloo Bunting, and I should not perhaps be able to pass you, which would be productive of great embarrassment; but I will proceed to Kwala Muda and will endeavour to make arrangements.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

No. 4.

From Tuanko Daiu, youngest son of Ex Rajah of Quedah, to Tuanko Song Puteh.

The letter which you sent me by your two sons has reached me and I understand its contents and I am very happy to be together, but I am much distressed in consequence of my father being in Pulo Penang with the English. You are acquainted with all circumstances. I shall therefore consider and communicate with the Rajahs in Pulo Penang in respect to the contents of your letter, for I am extremely desirous to assist in this work. My brother, Tuanko Abdullah, also is collecting people to send them to you.

28th Shaban 1214.

No. 5.

From Tuanko Jam Jam (sister of the Ex Rajah of Quedah) to Tuanko Song Puteh, her husband.

My mind is extremely anxious and distressed in respect to the business you are about to be engaged in, but what can I say? I rely on the Almighty that He will protect you and pray for safety of you all. I hope you will consider well and conciliate all the people who accompany you. With respect to Raja Abdullah, he is an old man and will be like your brother; do not therefore conceal anything from him. I entreat that you will take the advice of proper people, for you are not acquainted with the road, and you must take care of the people with you—those who are Pangulas to treat them as such and the ryots as ryots. I merely remind you of this, without presuming to instruct you. Do not be anxious about me here who rely on the protection of the Almighty.

No. 6.

From Tuanko Din to Tuanko Song Puteh.

I have received a letter from Tuanko Abdullah brought by Che Ribu in which he requests to fix a day that he has for accompanying us on the expedition and I have returned answer by Che Saleh fixing the 7th day of the month for proceeding. I waited from the 7th till the 11th and on that night I went on shore, but mistook the road, and it was nearly day light, so that I could not enter the fort. I therefore returned to the boat, the young Rajah (Siamese) mounted his elephants. There were 20 Siamese at the fort and 20 at Koobang Rattan, the rest Malays. I therefore request you will arrange with your sons and let us attack and seize this fort at once within these 3 or 4 days. Do not let Lebby Ally and his followers and arms remain. I do not wish to make a long story; you can enquire all of Che Ribu.

No. 7.

From Tuanko Abdurramman, son of Tuanko Song Puteh, to Datri Bandar Rajah Ulama Satiya of Purlis.

The letter which you sent by my father Tuanko Song Puteh has duly reached me and I understand its contents. I have also received the tin which you sent me.

In respect of my father's intention of proceeding to Purlis, that cannot now be carried into effect. He is building a stockade at Guroon, and those who are concerned in this business must make haste. I therefore beg you to send Tein Sela Satiya to my father at Pindang, using all dispatch day and night, for my father intends to proceed to the attack in one or two days. I proceed by sea to meet my brother Tuanko Din. This business you must settle definitely and I trust to the assistance of the Almighty. All other matters will be connected with Tein Sela Satiya when he meets my father, Tuanko Song Puteh, at Pindang.

(True Translations)

(Signed) J. Anderson—Malay Translator to Government.

Factory Records, (Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 49-50 (3d set of paging).

Fort Cornwallis 22nd June 1829.

Translation

Chow Pya Ban 5 June 1829.

of a letter from Aluang Piya Ban to the Malay Translator.

After Compliments.

I send this letter to my friend and for the purpose of making known to the Honorable the Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore and Malacca that I proceeded to Pulo Langkaivi to drive out Tuanko Din who was committing disturbances there and oppression upon the inhabitants, and Tuanko Long Putih also did the same. They received intelligence that I had taken my departure for that place and they fled to Kuala Muda, whither I have pursued them. I therefore send a man to make known this to my friend according to the rule of friendship.

Moreover the Rajah of Ligore has given me orders that I shall do nothing that may be disagreeable to the English and if any persons commit any misconduct upon the inhabitants of Quedah, I am directed to give intimation to the Governor of Pulo Penang. The Siamese and English have established a friendship that will last as long as the sun and moon continue. I am now come with a great number of prows, people of Quedah are also accompanying me as I am apprehensive of the attempts of the wicked people. I have therefore brought many prows and let not my friend entertain any doubts. This I make known.

My object also in entering the Murbow is to examine the place, and to establish some people there so that wicked people may not resort there. I intend to remain two or three days and then return. This I also make known.

Not having brought with me my Malay writer I cannot send this letter in Malay according to former custom.

Dated 8th of 7th month, year cow.

A true translation from the Malay into which language it has been previously rendered from Siamese.

(Signed) John Andersen
Malay Translator to Government.

Prince of Wales Island
The 15th June 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 53-55. (3d set of paging).

Fort Cornwallis The 22nd June 1829.

To John Anderson Esquire

Secretary to Government

Fort Cornwallis.

Supt. of Province Wellesley 19 June 1829.

Sir,

I have the honor, in reply to your letter of the 16th instant, to report for the information of the Government that Tuanko Long Putih, the person therein alluded to has been notoriously connected with the pirates of Siak and other places in the Straits during a long course of years.

He reached Penang under very suspicious circumstances and seems to have been since actively engaged in aiding and abetting and fomenting the late disturbances in Quedah, which with reference to the existing Treaty with the Siamese threatens to interrupt the amicable relations subsisting betwixt the British and them.

The Siamese authorities of Quedah had even sent people in search of Long Putih towards the Muda River or the North boundary of this Province, and they appeared to consider that the Treaty alluded to provided against British protection being afforded to him, especially as he was connected by marriage with the Ex King of Quedah, and had openly manifested hostile designs against the Quedah country.

The Tuanku's followers, men whose occupation is piracy, were also going at large, and I had reason to suspect that they were connected with the gangs which were committing almost nightly robberies on the property and violent assaults on the persons of the inhabitants of this Province. Under these circumstances and with reference to the general instructions before received from the Government in similar cases,

I directed that Tuanku Long Putih should be told that it would be advisable for him to go out of the Province. But I positively enjoined the Police Officer intrusted with the message not to compel him to go. The Tuanku returned an insolent message that he did not intend to leave the Muda District, (the only place in the Province, to my knowledge, where he has resided). I therefore considered it my duty to report the circumstance to Government. Since then I have had no communication with the Tuanku, but I have learned that he *did* leave the Province for his own convenience and to further his own schemes against the Siamese of Quedah, and that having been beat back by the latter people from the Lancavy Islands, he again took shelter in the Qualla Muda district within the British territory. He has here lived unmolested ever since.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low
Superintendent of Police
Province Wellesley.

Province Wellesley
The 19th June 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 145, pp. 57-9. (3d set of paging).

Fort Cornwallis The 1st July 1829.

Supt. of Prov: Wellesley 20 June 1829.

To John Anderson Esquire
Secretary to Government
Fort Cornwallis.

Sir,

* * * * * *

9. I respectfully request to suggest that the concurrence of the Siamese authorities in a settlement of a boundary line would be highly satisfactory, since the 3rd article of their Treaty provides for it, and the petty Siamese officers close to the frontier have occasionally expressed doubts as to the boundary, and may afterwards make them matter for altercation.

10. If the Siamese would agree to a natural boundary, even should that be a little beyond the limit of 60 orlongs inland, it would be advantageous to all parties.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low.

Province Wellesley
Land Office
20th June 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 144, pp. 61-62. (3d set of paging).

Fort Cornwallis The 7th July 1829.

To John Anderson Esquire
Secretary to Government
Fort Cornwallis.

Supt. of Lands Province Wellesley 28: June 1829.

Sir,

I have the honor in reply to your letter of the 27th instant to state, that it appears to me to be very possible to effect a settlement of the boundaries of Province Wellesley in concert with the Siamese Chief at Quedah, since the 3rd Article of the Treaty of Bangkok expressly gives him the power to act in such a case along with the British authority nearest to the boundary to be adjusted.

By a little conciliatory management, the Siamese deputies who should be sent from Quedah might be induced at once to settle a natural [boundary] instead of attempting an actual measurement, a thing they could not effect of themselves, and which cannot be effected at present without great expense and waste of time.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low
Superintendent of Land and Police.

Province Wellesley
Land Office
28 June 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 160, pp. 164-5 (2d set of paging).

Minister at Siam.

Singapore the 10 October 1829.

Minister at Siam.

From Chau Pria Prah Klang, an officer of rank in Kroong-Sri Ayuddhya (Siam).

To the Governor of Singapore.

The English and the Siamese having always been on terms of friendship, and Singapore being at the present time under the authority of the English, in consequence of which the merchants of Siam resort to Singapore and those of Singapore to Siam, when any circumstances of difficulty arises we ought mutually to afford every assistance for their relief which lies in our power, in order that the merchants may trade freely and without prejudice to their affairs. For this reason we are strict in observing the rules of a friendly interconrse.

In the year Chuat, Phia-Kraisi loaded goods belonging to the King on two Topes, the Nokedah of one of which being a Chinese named Toh, of the other Cham-Ammun! of the name of Chai being the supercargo of the first. They were directed to take the topes with their cargoes to Saigon. Having arrived there and unloaded, Phia-Kraisi was taken sick and died suddenly. As soon as the two Nakodahs were informed of the death of Phia-Kraisi, they laid a plan to get possession of the two vessels, and all the money which had been realised on account [of] the proceeds of the sale of the goods. To this day they have never returned to Siam. Nakodah Cham, we have learnt gave his tope in charge to another Chinaman, who took it to Samarang. The tope of Nakodah Toh, it is reported, was about to be sold to a merchant at Singapore, the Nakodah himself intending to return

to China. A China man of the name of Leng in the employ of Looang-apeipanit when to trade at Singapore. He it is who has given the information of the intended sale of the vessel by Nakodah Toh.

Should Leng prefer any complaint on this account we request the Governor of Singapore will assist us by settling the case in a proper manner. The tope has been detained in the hands of one Ootia by Leng. This information has been conveyed to us by a Chinese of the name of Ling-ing, who has written us a letter on the subject. We have in consequence ordered Koon Nakti Wanit to take his passage to Singapore in the vessel of Muttoo Khan, a Bombay merchant. When Koon Nakti Wanit arrives at Singapore to settle the case of the tope, we confidently hope the Governor of Singapore will fulfil the part of a friend. Our wish is that the Governor would cause the tope with the Nakodah, crew and property to be delivered into the hands of Koon Nakti Wanit to bring back to Siam, as a pledge of a long and friendly alliance.

Written on Thursday the 14th day of the ninth month in the year 1198 (corresponding with 12: August 1829).

(Signed) Edward Presgrave
Translator.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis the 10 October 1829.

To Supt. of Province Wellesley, 9 Oct. 1829.

To Captain Low
Superintendent of Province Wellesley.

Sir,

It is scarcely necessary to apprize you, that in defiance of every remonstrance to the contrary the Ex Rajah of Quedah quitted this island yesterday, and has taken up his residence at Tulloh Ayer Tawar on the opposite shore.

By this further act of folly and obstinacy the Ex Rajah has forfeited the little remains of consideration that was due to his misfortunes, and it will be obvious to you, who are already so well acquainted with the views and sentiments of Government upon the subject, that increased vigilance in watching his acts should now be more than ever resorted to.

The suspicions of the Siamese will naturally be excited by this apparent approximation of an inveterate enemy towards their frontier; and they will no doubt magnify their apprehension in a degree not warranted by actual circumstances. Still to allay them must be our object, and as they will no doubt have their own informants upon all that passes, the readiest way to assist in effecting this will be to show by acts that the measure has not the sanction of authority. With this view you will prohibit the assemblage about the residence of the Ex Rajah or elsewhere on his account of any concourse of people beyond what has hitherto been usual as attendants upon his person, and also intimate to him without reserve, that any attempts on his part to deviate from such directions can only be effected at the risk of his personal liberty. He has already been informed that in consequence of former conduct he is considered and will be treated but as

any other British subject, and of this he may again be reminded should he evince the slightest disposition to pursue a contrary procedure.

You are authorized to entertain a secret intelligence to assist you in the watch it now becomes so necessary to maintain, and you will immediately communicate to me any circumstances of a suspicious nature that may occur.

I am &c.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Councillor.

Fort Cornwallis
The 9 October 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis the 14 October 1829.

Supt: Province Wellesley, 13 Oct. 1829.

To the Honorable Robert Ibbetson Esquire,
Resident Councillor.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th Instant relative to the Ex Rajah of Quedah.

I request to state that every exertion will be made within my power to conform to the instructions therein conveyed, although from the very reduced and scattered state of the Police, and the small number of the military guard, I am apprehensive that should any disturbance of magnitude ensue, which however, it is not likely will happen, it would be difficult to quell it promptly.

I have no doubt that the Siamese will take or pretend to take alarm at the Ex Rajah's approaching so near to their frontier, yet I do not believe that he would be able, even if allowed, to collect many retainers here, with the exception of a few debtors, as he is not popular amongst those of his former subjects who are settled in the province, and is besides apparently too poor to bribe.

I have communicated to the Ex King those parts of my instructions which I have been directed by you to impress on his mind.

I have &c.

(Signed) J. Low Captain
Supt. of Province Wellesley.

Province Wellesley
13th October 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis the 26th October 1829.

Supt. of Province Wellesley 26 Oct. 1829.

To

The Honble. R. Ibbetson Esquire.
Resident Councillor.

Sir,

I have the honor to solicit instructions with reference to the following subject.

Should the Ex Rajah of Quedah attempt to cross the Siamese or other boundary of the province, will I be permitted to seize him or to stop him if practicable by means of the police and the few sepoys stationed here.

1 Guard of 1 Havildar
1 Naick
12 Sepoys.

Six only of which can be spared for a few hours in an emergency.

I have &c.

(Signed) J. Low
Superintendent. of Police.

Province Wellesley
26 October 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis the 26 October 1829.

To Captain Low 26 Oct. 1829.

To Captain Low
Superintendent of Province Wellesley.

Sir,

I hasten to reply to your letter of this date regarding the Ex Rajah of Quedah, and to convey to you my desire that should he attempt to pass over to the Territory of the Siamese, you will endeavour to prevent him by every means at your disposal. Our Government has engaged by Treaty with the King of Siam "not to permit the former Governor of Quedah or any of his followers to attack, disturb or injure in any manner the territory of Quedah, or any other Territory subject to Siam" which leaves the line of policy to be pursued by us not to be mistaken. You will intimate in time whether any increase to the Military Guard already at your disposal will in your opinion become necessary, of which you will only be enabled to judge by events as they arise.

I am &c.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Councillor.

Fort Cornwallis
the 26 October 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis the 29th October 1829.

Rajah of Ligore.

Translation of letter from the Chow Pya of Ligore to the Honorable R. Fullerton. Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

The letter which our friend sent to Quedah in which our friend expressed a desire to have the boundaries of the territories belonging to the India Company accurately defined, we received in safety on Wednesday the 5th of Rabilawal and perfectly understood its contents. The boundaries of the ground belonging to Quedah and the English from the commencement have been defined in a Treaty made with the great men of Quedah and deposited with the English. A copy of this treaty we have ordered to be made and sent to our friend in which the boundaries are defined. Should our friend have any doubts respecting the authenticity of the copy, let him seek for the Treaty deposited at Pulo Penang, which he will perceive is the same as the one we have sent. Whereas we have always been well inclined to the English, and never charged them with any evil intention in any of our letters, why has our friend sent a letter enquiring about the boundaries of the territories at which we are very much astonished.

Wherefore we have sent Koon Akorn with a letter to our friend, in order that he may enquire in a friendly manner, what are our friend's intentions in doing this. Moreover in the year 1774 of the Siamese, corresponding with the year 1828 of the English, a treaty was made between the two nations signed and sealed by the Right Honorable Lord Amherst, who governs Bengal, A Sterling Esquire, Right Honorable Lord Combermere, the Honorable J. Herbert Harrington Esqre., the Honorable W. B. Bayley

sic!

Esquire and G. Swinton Esqre., and sealed with the Company's arms in which every thing relating to this business has been inserted and agreed upon. At that time also Captain H. Burney and Captain McFarquhar brought the Treaty to us, which we received and forwarded to His Royal Highness the Emperor of Siam who ordered it to be confirmed and issued letters to all the Governors of the Siamese countries to observe it as long as there was heaven and earth.

This we make known to our friend. Written on the 5th of Rabilawal 1245.

A true translation

Malay Translator

Penang
26 October 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis the 29th October 1829.

Rajah of Ligore.

Rajah of Ligore.

Translation of a letter from the Rajah of Ligore to the Honorable R. Fullerton Esqre., Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

* * * * * *

At the time Koon Aksorn was about to start for Pulo Penang, some of my people who are living on the sea shore towards the west, suddenly came and informed me that the Rajah of Quedah had ordered Panglima Putih to take a letter and collect people by persuasion to make war on the Siamese in Quedah. This man was seized by them, and the letter found in his possession. Upon ordering my people to examine it, they clearly made out the name of Ahmed Tajuddin Umkarram Shah, which is certainly the chop of the King of Quedah. This letter I send to my friend who will be able to identify the chop and know the contents. It is mentioned in the Treaty that the English and Siamese shall be in amity with each other, as long as there is a heaven and earth, and shall not give any cause of contention to each other.

The Rajah of Quedah has raised a commotion, and does not wish to keep the Treaty, so that the people of Quedah are continually disturbed, and cannot gain their livelihood by buying and selling, contrary to the Articles of the Treaty. We therefore request our friend to persuade him to keep it.

A true translation

(Signed) H. Nairne.
Malay Translator

26 October 1829.
Penang.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis the 29 October 1829.

Translation of the intercepted letter sent by the Rajah of Quedah.

This Proclamation we make known to Panglima Pootee, and desire him to order all our friends at Satul and Lungo, who intend going to Teluk Barat to return here, as we are about to leave Pulo Penang to reside at Pulo Langkawi, so that we may collect our adherents, as we wish to try our fortune in fighting with the Siamese; and take care they do not neglect this order directing them to come.

Written on the 24th Ramathan
26th October 1829.

A true translation

(Signed) H. Nairne
Malay Translator.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis the 29th October 1829.

Rajah of Ligore. [29 Oct. 1829]

Letter from Mr. Ibbetson to the Rajah of Ligore.

I have received my friend's letter dated 26th ultimo, in reply to a former one from the Honorable Robert Fullerton, regarding the boundary line between our territory and that of Quedah. My friend has not properly understood that letter or he would not have been astonished at the request it contained.

There was no intention to charge the Siamese with any evil intention towards the English, and my friend will perceive in reading the Treaty again, copy of which has been received, that the length aud breadth only of the English territory is there mentioned, but which has never been measured, and this makes it difficult to decide whenever wicked people disturb the peace of the Country whether that disturbance is upon English or Siamese ground.

What the Honorable Robert Fullerton therefore requested from his friend was merely that he would depute Commissoners to make this measurement in company with other Commissioners of the Government, so that when a proper line was marked out there could be no mistake hereafter. The North and South boundaries are already defined by rivers and the West by the sea. There remains therefore only the East to be defined and if a natural boundary could be chosen for that also, such as rivers or hills, it would save a great deal of trouble and expense in erecting marks. I have further explained to Koon Aksorn the wishes of the Honorable Robert Fullerton upon this subject.

With regard to the Ex Rajah of Quedah writing to his adherents and friends, my friend must be aware how difficult it is to prevent the secret transmission of letters. Were the Ex Rajah to attempt by open force to disturb the peace of Quedah such would be repelled

by us with force, and my friend may rely that even his letters to this purpose would not be permitted to pass if we know of them. He shall be admonished of this proof of his evil intentions.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson.
Resident Councillor.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 130.

Fort Cornwallis 6th November 1829.

Secry. to Govt. 28 October 1829.

To the Honble. R. Ibbetson Esquire
Resident Councillor
Prince of Wales Island.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honorable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your Communication of the 15th instant fowarding copies of papers recorded by you relative to the Ex King of Quedah, and to the Coffree Pensioners from Bencoolen.

With regard to the former the Honorable the Governor in council approves of the communication made by you to Captain Low, and adverting to the necessity there is for the prevention of any violation of the Treaty with the Siamese, and to the necessity there will be to keep a most strict surveillance over the motions of the Ex King and his followers, recommends that in the event of his endeavouring to stir up any disturbance or attempting to leave the Company's Districts, that you immediately station a strong guard over his house and person.

The strictest vigilance of the police at Province Wellesley will be required to watch and report to you any suspicious circumstances, and the Honorable the Governor in council approves of the authority given by you to Captain Low to employ the best and most efficient means of obtaining secret intelligence.

In order to quiet the suspicions of the Siamese Government which are not unlikely to be raised by the removal of the Ex King so close to their frontiers, the Honorable the Governor in Council directs that a letter be addressed to the authorities of that state at Quedah explanatory of the disapproval of this Government of the step so injudiciously taken by the Ex

King of Quedah, and assuring them at the same time that all precautions will be taken to prevent any breach of the Treaty, and inviting intelligence from those authorities should it come to their knowledge that the Ex King is making any clandestine attempts to subvert their authority or to raise a rebellion amongst the subjects at Quedah.

* * * * * *

I have &c.

(Signed) J. Pattullo
Secretary to Government.

Malacca
The 28 October 1829.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 14.

Fort William 30th April 1830.

No. 96.

To Geo. Swinton Esq.
Chief Secretary to Government
FORT WILLIAM.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honble. the Governor in Council to transmit to you for the information of the Right Honble. the Governor General in Council copies of the accompanying correspondence with the Resident Councillor of Prince of Wales Island relating to the Ex King of Quedah and to a request which it was deemed necessary to make to the Siamese authorities to fix the boundaries of the territories of the respective Governments on the Peninsula.

2. The object of this request was not to raise any doubts or demands on the part of our Government. The number of bad characters who had lately taken advantage of the uncertainty existing, and who were in the frequent habit of coming down to plunder and murder the peaceable inhabitants settled within our districts, rendered it imperative to have some definitive boundary settled, to enable Government to adopt means for repressing the marauders and restoring tranquillity to the country. This could not be effected without the chance of collision with the Siamese authorities, and under that consideration they were requested to appoint Commissioners.

3. Doubts had also been raised in the Court of Judicature in some disputes about lands, so as to the extent of our territory on the Quedah shore, which made it the more requisite to have the boundary fixed.

4. These reasons were fully stated in the letter

from the Honble. the Governor to the Siamese authorities, and have subsequently been explained to the Agent of the Rajah of Ligore, which will it is hoped allay any suspicions on the part of the Siamese Government.

5. The Honble. the Governor in Council regrets extremely that notwithstanding every endeavour to keep the Ex Rajah of Quedah from intercourse with his late subjects there, and the repeated warnings which have been given him, that he has nevertheless taken the measures he has for removing himself and his family to the opposite shore.

6. Every possible precaution will be used to prevent his causing a breach of the Treaty with the Siamese Government. From a reference to the Resident Councillor's correspondence it will be perceived that no bad consequences are likely to result from his removal to Province Wellesley, but it is evident that while the Ex Rajah continues to reside within the territories of Prince of Wales Island the Siamese Authorities will always view his proximity to Quedah with much suspicion, and the acts of our Government with much distrust.

I have &ca.

(Signed) J. Pattullo
Secretary to Government

Malacca the 23d November 1829.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132, pp. 198-9.

Fort Cornwallis the 30th January 1830.

To John Pattullo Esquire
Secretary to Government
Fort Cornwallis.

Sir,

I have the honor to report for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council, that the Panghulu Mukun of Pantai Oracora in the Quala Muda district has this moment stated to me that a party of Sixty Armed Siamese were seen by him yesterday evening in the jungle close on the boundary, and that their force is reported to amount to 300 men.

As the spot they are thus reported to occupy is on the south side of the Muda River where it has never been usual for others than trading Siamese to come, I request to be favored with instructions regarding them.

I have dispatched the constable of Muda to demand of *Khoon Ban Pot*, the Siamese Commander of the party, his object for occupying his present position, and will have the honor to forward the reply which he may give without delay.

The people within the frontier are much alarmed, but I am inclined to believe that the party has only been sent to watch the Ex-King of Quedah.

The Quedah Chief ought in such case to have communicated his intentions.

I have &c.

(Signed) James Low
Supt. of Province Wellesley.

Province Wellesley
The 30th December 1829.

Factory Records Straits Settlements, vol. 132, pp. 200-201.

Fort Cornwallis the 30th January 1830.

To

The Superintendent of Province Wellesley

Sir,

The Honorable the Governor in Council concurs with you in opinion that the Siamese party seen on this frontier are sent there for the purpose of watching the movements of the Ex King, whose extraordinary conduct has of late been such as to give to the Siamese authorities just cause of alarm. The Governor in Council approves the notification made to the head of the Siamese party and can only direct that you will add to it an injunction against their passing the frontier. It may also be advisable to admonish the Ex King on the dangerous position in which he has placed himself and recommend his returning to the Island forthwith.

I am &c.

(Signed) J. Pattullo
Secry. to Government.

Fort Cornwallis
The 31st December [1829].

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132, pp. 201-202.

Fort Cornwallis the 30th January 1830.

To

John Pattullo Esquire
Secretary to Government
Fort Cornwallis.

Sir,

I have the honor to report that the Siamese Armed Party alluded to in my last letter has suddenly removed further within the Siamese territory and that I have sent a (Siamese) letter to warn the Chief not to trespass on the British territory.

Adverting to the movements of this party, to the circumstance of another having assembled at the Marboo River, and to the report just received that a third is preparing rafts up the Muda River for a descent, and also to the great alarm which has thus been created amongst the population, I solicit that I may be favored with the instructions of the Honble. the Governor in Council as to what course I am to pursue *in the event* of any armed Siamese or other armed men in their service passing the boundary of the Province, and not departing when warned so to do.

I have &c.

(Signed) James Low
Supt. of Province Wellesley.

Province Wellesley
1st January 1830

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132, p. 203.

Fort Cornwallis the 30th January 1830.

Supt. of Pro: Wellesley 2 Jan. 1830.

To Captain Low,
Superintendent of Province Wellesley.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honorable the Governor in Council to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 1st instant in consequence of your previous communications of the 30th and 31st ultimo. A party of thirty sepoys have been sent over, which will be immediafely increased to the strength of a Company.

No armed party of Siamese are to be permitted to cross the boundary, and in order to prevent alarm whereby our inhabitants may be induced to quit their habitations it will be advisable to detach small parties to cover the frontier.

As it is evident that the Ex King of Quedah's residence in the province is the originating cause of all this commotion, he must be desired to return forthwith to this island as his remaining where he is will no doubt be urged as the grounds of these movements of the Siamese, whereby so much alarm and inconvenience is likely to result.

I am &c.

(Signed) J. Pattullo
Secry. to Government.

Fort Cornwallis
The 2 January 1830.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132, pp. 203-5.

Fort Cornwallis the 30th January 1830.

Supt. of Pro: Wellesley 4 Jan. 1830.

To John Pattullo Esquire,
Secretary to Government.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d Instant, and to report for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council that the several instructions it contains have been complied with.

I beg to enclose a copy of my letter to the Chief of the Siamese party which appeared on the frontier; also a copy of my letter to the Ex Rajah of Quedah with a translation of his reply.

I considered this reply so unsatisfactory that I rode early yesterday morning to his house (a Malayan cottage) and had an interview with him in presence of witnesses.

I strongly remonstrated with him on the extreme impropriety of his conduct in coming over to this coast, a hasty step which, before he took it I had so strenuously advised him not to take, and which he must have well known to be directly contrary to the wishes of the Government and to his own true interests. I pointed out to him that by remaining in Province Wellesley he is inducing the Siamese to collect their troops near our frontier under the supposition that he means to attack Quedah, and that he has thus already raised a commotion which may end in his own ruin, and that whatever his private intentions are, his presence here can only tend to create alarm amongst the Ryots of the Province and to excite the Siamese to further acts of, perhaps, a more serious nature. He was informed that it is in some degree inconsistent with the amicable relations now subsisting betwixt the

British and the Siamese that he should settle so close to the Quedah boundary, and that his persisting to remain here now cannot fail to prove displeasing to the Right Honble. the Governor General, whose good opinion he seems so desirous of. I showed to him that his present residence is one of great danger, since any party of desperate men who might be hired by his enemies could easily land on the beach in the night and murder or carry off him and his family without the chance of his being assisted, as the few police peons at the nearest Thannah would be unable to cope with a determined band: that the party of sepoys which his conduct has imposed on the Government the trouble of sending over, is intended to protect the Ryots, *not him*, and that he should not delay a moment in returning to Penang for good, or at the least for a while and until the sentiments of the Governor General might be made known to him.

The Ex Rajah replied—"There can be no restriction to my going where I please. The Governor General did not forbid my coming here. (But the Ex Rajah is quite aware that such an extraordinary step could never have been contemplated by his Lordship). I have chosen this coast for my residence because living is cheap, and I can live quietly. I have no intention to molest the Siamese in any way. I am now waiting the reply of the Governor General to my Representation of the hardships I have suffered and as for my personal safety it will be better for me to die by the hands of the Siamese who have usurped my rights than to live in poverty and neglect in town or on Penang."

"I am however ready to return immediately to Penang if the Government may be pleased to pay my debts and to restore to me my former allowance, otherwise I will not remove. If I should be driven out, that I cannot help."

With the knowledge I have of the Rajah's disposition I am fully persuaded that he will adhere to his resolution.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low Captain
Supt. of Police P. W.

Province Wellesley
4 January 1830

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132, p. 206.

Fort Cornwallis the 30 January 1830.

Enclosure I.

Translation of a Letter from Captain Low to the Commander of the Siamese Party beyond the frontier of Province Wellesley.

Captain Low desires to inform the Commander of the Party of Armed Siamese which has come close to the boundary beyond Pantar Amora, that his appearance there has excited alarm amongst the Ryots close to that frontier, because it has not been customary for any party of armed Siamese to approach in that direction.

Captain Low warns therefore the Commander of the party or of any other party of Siamese, neither to cross the British frontier with their men nor to allow a single armed man to cross it.

Dated the 8th day of Yi month of the year Chula-Eka Sok or 1st January 1830.

(Signed) James Low
Supt. of Police
Province Wellesley.

True Translation
James Low Captain
Supt. of Police.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132. pp. 206-7.

Fort Cornwallis the 30 January 1830.

Enclosure No. 2.

(Translation.)

Letters of the same tenor addressed by Captain Low to the Ex Rajah of Quedah

My friend has come to reside at Tulloh Ayer Tawar, and the Siamese having been apprized of the circumstance have considered it of great importance as affecting them, and have taken measures accordingly, the result of which is uncertain.

My friend therefore had better now return to Penang. 1st January 1830.

(Signed) James Low.
Supt. of Police P. W.

A true Translation
James Low Capt.
Supt. of Police.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132, pp. 207-8.

Fort Cornwallis the 30th January 1830.

Enclosure No. 3.

Translation of a letter from the Ex Rajah of Quedah to Captain Low.

I have received my friend's letter from the Panghulu of Tulloh Ayer Tawar, which I perfectly understand and with which I am gratified. I am very much distressed to find that my friend believes that the Siamese have designs on my account.

Now my friend plainly informs me and desires that I should return to Penang. When I proposed coming to this shore I acquainted both Mr. Ibbetson and Mr. Nairne and my friend with my intention. However desirous I am to stay on the island and to await a reply from the Governor General, yet I cannot do so as I have no money and am moreover much in debt and under difficulties. My friend and every one in Penang must know that at Tulloh Ayer Tawar, where I am residing with my people, and which is under my friend's management, things are cheap and expenses are small, almost nothing. My friend and every other person must be aware of the operations of the Siamese up to the present time, both respecting Pulo Penang and this Coast, which are under the Company. I am sure in my mind that no other people will dare to molest the territory of the Company. While here I trust in my friend. I am now awaiting a reply from the Governor General of Bengal to the last representation I had to make, and as a promise was made to me that a Reply would be sent down soon, I am glad that my friend has desired me to return to Penang. Therefore I request my friend's assistance to settle this matter and to arrange for the settlement of my accounts and for the renewal of my former allowance. If such be effected I will return to Penang and live as before, and await the reply from the Governor General.

It is only on account of the distress to which I have been put for want of money that I am now living here. My friend and all people are aware of the situation in which I am placed, and other circumstances regarding me. I have trusted to the power of the King of England during all the period that I have lived under the Government of Penang. Dated the 6th day of Rujub—1st January 1830.

(A true translation)

(Signed) James Low Captain
Supt. of Province P. W.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132, p. 208.

Fort Cornwallis the 30th January 1830.

To Supt. Pro: Wellesley.

To

Captain Low
Superintendent of Province Wellesley.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honble the Governor in Council to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 4 instant intimating you have fulfilled the various instructions conveyed in my several letters to your address, and further submitting the result of an unsuccessful Communication you had with the Ex Rajah of Quedah relative to his immediate return to this island.

In reply I am directed to desire you will inform the Ex Rajah that the terms on which he will receive any pecuniary assistance from Government have already been fully explained to him—Namely, that he proceeds and resides at Malacca. That in respect to the dangerous situation he has now placed himself in he has been fairly warned and must abide the consequences. Government will not take any further interest in what concerns him or his personal security, and if he persists in his present conduct must cease to consider him in any other light than a common individual subject to all the laws of the place where he resides.

I am &c.
(Signed) J. Pattullo
Secy. to Government.

Fort Cornwallis
the 5 January 1830.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 14.

Fort William 30th April 1830.

No. 99.

Memorandum by Major Burney on the Ex King of Quedah.

With respect to the poor King of Quedah few persons will give themselves the trouble to read through the voluminous mass of papers from which alone a right knowledge can be acquired of the history of our connexion with the State of Quedah, and of the title of the Ex King to our interference on his behalf. It is very easy from a little superficial acquaintance with the subject to take up a popular view of his case, and to dilate on the cruelty and injustice of deserting an ally, to whom the British faith was pledged etc. etc. But I hold that the following facts have been clearly substantiated.

1. From the earliest times according to Malayan historians themselves a great portion of the Malayan Peninsula has been tributary to Siam, in the same manner as our Bible shows us it has always been the practice in Asia for great States to bind neighbouring Chiefs to send gifts, give assistance in wars, and do such other things as the strong may require from the weak.

2. All the first European travellers and voyagers who visited the Malayan Peninsula and Siam found most of the Malay States, and among them Quedah, subject to Siam, and all the Governors of Penang between Mr. Light and Mr. Fullerton considered and treated Quedah as a State dependent on Siam.

3. There was no Treaty made in the first instance with Quedah, but the father of the Ex King, the reigning Monarch in 1786, offered Penang to the Bengal Government upon certain conditions two of which proposed to bind the British Government to protect Quedah from all enemies.

4. The real motive, as reported by Mr. Light himself, of the old King then seeking our alliance, was to defend himself against the British* Government at Malacca, which had just made Treaties with the neighbouring Malay States of Perak and Salengore, had established a factory up the Perak River, and had deputed a Mission to Quedah.

(* Sic ? Dutch.)

5. Sir John Macpherson, then Governor General of Bengal, refused to accede to the conditions above mentioned because he conceived them likely to involve the British Government in disputes with both the Burmese and Siamese, and he sent Captain Light back with such refusal to the old King, who, notwithstanding that the Bengal Government declined to bind itself to more than stationing an armed vessel to guard Penang and coast *adjacent*, was persuaded to cede Penang and allow Captain Light to settle upon it.

6. Shortly after the cession the King of Siam gave a proof that he considered Penang as subject to him, for he sent orders to Captain Light to prepare boats etc. to aid Siam in an attack upon the Burmese; and the old King of Quedah himself, when he quarrelled with Captain Light, applied to the King of Siam to drive the English out of Penang.

7. The quarrel arose out of this correspondence. The Governor General had observed in reply to the 2d of the King of Quedah's conditions of being allowed 30,000 Spanish Dollars every year, that "the East India Company would take care that the King of Quedah should not be a sufferer by an English Settlement being formed at Penang," yet Mr. Light was not authorized to make any pecuniary remuneration to His Highness. In the year 1791, after a short war with Quedah, the first regular Treaty was made, but in that Treaty we did not bind ourselves to defend that State in any manner, and only agreed to pay His Highness 6,000 dollars every year upon condition that he permitted a free export of provisions from Quedah to Penang.

8. In 1802, Sir George Leith made another Treaty with Quedah, obtaining a cession of a tract of territory on the sea coast, and consenting on our part to increase our annual stipend from 6 to 10,000 dollars, upon the same conditions as before, a free export of provisions from Quedah to Penang. In this Treaty also no engagement was made for the British Government to defend Quedah.

9. The Bengal Government from the earliest down to the latest date of our connexion with Quedah, pointedly desired to avoid all engagements or proceedings that might involve us in disputes with the Siamese, and deprecated all idea of encouraging the King of Quedah to throw off their dependence on Siam.

10. Whatever doubts may arise as to the right of the old King of Quedah to cede Penang and Province Wellesley without the previous permission of the King of Siam, an uninterrupted occupation on our part of so many years, precluded the Siamese Ministers from questioning our right, and they made no difficulty therefore in recognising Penang and Province Wellesley as British Possessions in the late Treaty with Siam.

11. Upon the death of the King of Quedah (the father of the present King) an uncle assumed the Sovereignty, to remove whom and recover the throne the present King went up to Bangkok, performed homage before His Majesty of Siam, received an honorary title from him, and an order to the uncle to resign the throne to the nephew; with which order the present King of Quedah returned and by which he became King of Quedah.

12. The present King of Quedah some years after he has himself visited Siam sent up his eldest son and prime minister to do homage before the King

ofS iam. and again acknowledged Quedah to be dependent on Siam.

13. But the King misgoverned his country, disgusted his own Chiefs and dissatisfied those who had placed him on the throne. He monopolized all the trade of the country, gave a preference in his councils to a cunning foreigner, a native of the coast of Coromandel, and secluded himself with his women from his subjects, who knew him only by the severity of his punishments. Even his own brothers repeatedly revolted against him, and some of them went to Siam and laid complaints against him, to answer which the King of Siam summoned him in vain, five or six times to appear at Bangkok.

14. The King of Quedah further, contrary to the positive stipulations of his Treaty with the British Government, levied a very heavy duty upon the exportation of grain from his country to Penang.

15. At the time the present King received the throne of Quedah from Siam, he entered into certain conditions with the Siamese, who charged him with not having fulfilled them, and for this reason as well as for his alleged misgovernment, the King of Siam sent a force to Quedah in 1821 to seize the King and take him up to Bangkok, but His Highness fled with his women and treasure the moment he heard of the arrival of a part only of the Siamese force.

16. Before Governor Phillips agreed to receive the fugitive King at Penang he was required to promise that he would remain in quiet at that Settlement, and not undertake any hostile measures against the Siamese from thence. But the King never abided by this agreement, for he opened a secret correspondence with the Burmese Government at Tavoy, and the King of Ava instigated repeatedly his subjects to revolt against the Siamese, and even deputed his own

friends and followers from Penang to go and attack the Siamese of Quedah.

17. When Mr. Crawfurd proceeded as Envoy to Siam, "he admitted at once in his negotiations with the Siamese Ministers the dependence of Quedah on Siam, stating that the point had been fully enquired into by the most noble the Governor General of India," and been conceded without hesitation.

18. Five years after when Major Burney was deputed as envoy to Siam, he was not authorized to offer to the Siamese Court the equivalent which the Penang Government recommended to be offered, as the only means of effecting the restoration of Quedah to the King (the cession of a part of the Tenasserim Coast). He found that the resentment and passions of the Siamese were violently excited against the Ex King for his conduct for fomenting insurrections amongst the people of Quedah, and opening a corresdence with Ava contrary to his engagement with Governor Phillips, and he became convinced that the King of Quedah had no chance, either by his own means, or by means of any amicable negotiation with Siám on our part, of ever recovering his throne.

19. Major Burney during his Mission became convinced also, that there was no other way of restoring the King to his dominions, but by our sending a military force overland, and that if such a proceeding were adopted, admitting for the sake of argument that the views of the Home Authorities and the whole course of our policy from our earliest connexion with Quedah would have justified such a proceeding, it would have been impossible to say how much further we might have been drawn on. The King of Quedah would have required the continued presence of our military force to have enabled him to keep his seat. His dominions are far too poor to support the expense of any British force. They are full of jungle and hill,

and in contact with jealous and ill governed petty Siamese States.

20. Before Major Burney proceeded to Siam, Governor Fullerton declared his conviction that no good understanding could be maintained between Penang and Siam, as long as the King of Quedah remained at Penang, and that the question, as regarded his restoration ought to be settled one way or other as soon as possible.

21. Acting upon the above conviction, and bearing mind that the King of Quedah had repeatedly expressed a wish to leave Penang, Major Burney, when he relinquished the cause of the King of Quedah in his negotiations at Bangkok, was induced to consent *conditionally*, that the King of Quedah should not remain at Penang, but that the British Government should provide for him in some other territory. The Siamese on their part, consented to release the wives, sisters, children, and immediate friends of the King of Quedah (70 persons) and provided the King of Quedah were removed from Penang, to abolish the heavy export duty which they were levying upon grain at Quedah.

22. The Siamese, immediately after the Treaty was ratified by the Governor General, released and sent to Penang the 70 persons above alluded to, and abolished the export duty, but the King of Quedah refused to quit Penang, although it was offered to him, that if he would proceed to Malacca or any other British territory, he should be allowed a monthly pension of 1,000 Drs., being double the amount of the stipend which which he had been receiving at Penang. since the date of his finding an asylum there.

23. Major Burney never supposed that *force* would be used to remove the King from Penang and he was well aware that the stipulation in the Treaty regarding the King would require His Majesty's concurrence.

But to provide for the King's refusal, Major Burney made the stipulation *conditional*, giving the Siamese the power of continuing to levy the export duty upon grain, if the King declined to become a party to the Treaty, which however was useful to His Highness in one way. It effected the release of 70 of his relations and immediate adherents about whose captivity he had been, for five years before, suffering great uneasiness.

24. The British Government had an undoubted right to prohibit and prevent the Ex King of Quedah from disturbing the peace subsisting between it and Siam, and admitting that the King has a right to a provision from us, we have on the other hand a right, and indeed it is our bounden duty according to the Law of nations, to take care that he shall not, from under the shelter and protection which we ensure to him at Penang, commit acts of hostility against a power with which we are at peace. The stipulation in the Siamese Treaty, engaging the British Government not to permit the King of Quedah or his followers to attack or disturb the Siamese, was well understood by the Siamese Ministers and Major Burney to apply only to our not aiding the King, or permitting him from under our protection to commit acts of hostility. The Siamese Ministers ridiculed the idea of the King being able to do anything without our aid.

The King of Quedah is not, and never was, an independent Prince. He was never so acknowledged by the British Government, which on the contrary, on occasion of intercourse with Siam, acknowledged her supremacy over Quedah. The Ex King of Quedah will not, and indeed cannot, remain quiet at Penang, so near the place of his former rule, He has taken every opportunity of molesting and intriguing against the Siamese and all his attempts have only served to to bring ruin and desolation upon his followers, to excite the ill will of the Siamese against us, and to interrupt peace and commerce between Penang and

the Siamese States in its neighbourhood. The King of Quedah has no chance unless aided by the British Government in recovering his throne, and as long as he continues to reside at Penang, the Penang Government itself admits, no good understanding can be established between the Siamese and ourselves.

Major Burney is still of opinion that if suitable means had been used by the Penang Government in 1827, the King of Quedah might have been induced to remove from Penang. But he is not disposed to look at the Treaty between the King and ourselves with the eye of a Lawyer, and to argue, that the sum 10,000 dollars per annum, which he had agreed to pay the King of Quedah was on condition that he should fulfil certain things on his part, and that as he is now unable to fulfil them our Treaty with him becomes null and void.

The King being in distress, it better suits the character and dignity of the British Government to acknowledge his claims upon its justice, and to continue the payment of a stipend to him.

But let one more trial be made, and not through the Government of Penang, but through some private individual, to persuade the King to remove from Province Wellesley to Malacca or and other British territory, and offer him even 2000 drs. a month if he will consent to such an arrangement. If he still persist in refusing, pay him as before, his stipend of 10,000 dollars per annum, but fairly inform him that if he or his followers molest the Siamese from under our protection, we shall be under the necessity of removing him forcibly from Penang, and of delivering up to the Siamese such of his followers as go over to Quedah and commit hostilities against the Siamese. If the King of Quedah prefers remaining at Penang, we must apprize the Siamese of the same, and request them to re-establish the export duty upon grain at Quedah,

agreeably to the stipulation in the Treaty which provides for such a contingency.

It is quite characteristic of a Malay to refuse to hear reason " upon compulsion ", and to undergo any sufferings rather than swerve from a fit of obstinacy. But the poor King of Quedah has now put himself into the hands of a lawyer of no great fame, Mr. Trebeck, who has composed for him the address presented to the Governor General which, it is needless to add, is full of untruths and inaccuracies.

(Signed) H. Burney

Calcutta 9th January 1830.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132 pp. 219-20.

Fort Cornwallis the 30th January 1830.

READ a letter from Rajah Mooda of Ligore, residing at Quedah, forwarding an intercepted letter, written by the Ex Rajah of Quedah, for the purpose of instigating the inhabitants Quedah to join him in offensive measures against the Siamese authorities.

RESOLVED that the Superintendent of Province Wellesley be furnished with a copy of the above letter, and be desired to demand from the Ex Rajah of Quedah whether such letter was written by him, and take care to inform him that he will, by a repetition of such conduct subject himself to be placed under a Military Guard.

The BOARD further resolve that the following Proclamation relative to the Ex Rajah shall be published warning all persons in Province Wellesley from joining with him against the Siamese, also that the following letter be written to the Rajah Mooda, inclosing copy of the Proclamation.

PROCLAMATION.

The Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased to proclaim and publish for general information the following circumstances connected with the Ex Rajah of Quedah.

The Ex Rajah has gone to live in Province Wellesley contrary to the express wish of the Honorable the Governor in Council and continues to reside there in defiance of every remonstrance of this Government.

The Siamese have supposed that the peace of the Quedah country is endangered by the [? proximity] of the Ex Rajah to that territory and the native population of Province Wellesley has become alarmed. The Honorable the Governor in Council therefore with the view of preventing the Raja of Quedah from acting so as to molest the Siamese or disturb Province Wellesley has deemed it proper to station a detachment of Troops near the frontier, and to interdict the Ex Rajah from attempting to influence any of the inhabitants to make common cause with him.

Further it has been reported to the Honorable the Governor in Council that the Ex Rajah has lately written letters to some of his adherents in Quedah purporting that he has been promised the aid of the British Government for the purpose of regaining his authority in that country. It is proper therefore that all the Malayan inhabitants of Quedah and Province Wellesley should know that these assertions of the Ex Rajah are totally false and only invented by him to create mischief and [blank] the English and Siamese. Let the people of Province Wellesley beware therefore of lending their aid to the Ex Raja in any measure relating to the Quedah territory.

By Order

(Signed) J. Pattullo
Secry. to Government.

1 February 1830.

Factory Records. Straits Settlements, vol. 132, pp. 2-3 (2d set of paging).

To Supt. of Provi: Wellesley 5 Feb: 1830.

Fort Cornwallis the 13th February 1830.

To Captain Low

Supt. of Province Wellesley.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 2d Instant forwarding a suggestion for settling definitely the boundary of Province Wellesley.

The Honorable the Governor in Council is of opinion that Tuanku Solyman as proposed by you may be used as an instrument for settling the boundary, being the frontier chief, but care must be taken not to excite the blame of the Siamese authorities at Quedah, who will have to confirm the line settled. The attempt therefore may be made under the present manifest inconvenience from an indeterminate boundary although some doubts of success may be entertained, but the contemplated payment of money or release from debt had better be kept out of sight for the present.

I am &c.

(Signed) J. Pattullo
Secry. to Govt.

Fort Cornwallis
the 5 February 1830.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 132, pp. 3-4 (2d. set of paging.)

Supt. Province Wellesley 3 Feb. 1830.

Fort Cornwallis the 13 February 1830.

To,

John Pattullo Esquire
Secretary to Government
Prince of Wales Island.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2: Instant and to report for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council that in compliance with the instructions it contains I this morning visited the Ex Rajah of Quedah and explained to him its contents in presence of witnesses. The counterpart of the Malayan letter referred to was then read over to him.

The Ex Rajah expressed himself to the following effect—"I neither wrote that letter nor directed that it or any such should be written. My enemies the Siamese have fabricated it. Is it probable that I who am waiting for the reply of the Governor General should act so imprudently? The Siamese may perhaps have forged my seal as the man who made it is in their service, but the handwriting of the letter will be a proof that it is not mine. I have only one person who writes for me. I request to be favoured with a sight of the reported original, and in the meantime to *be allowed to take a copy* of this one which has now been read over."

I complied with the latter request and at the same time strenuously advised the Ex Rajah to return to Penang as the only course he could pursue if really desirous of recommending himself to the favorable notice of the Governor General. I regret however to observe that his determination to stay here until

he receives the expected reply alluded to remains unshaken.

I have &c.

(Signed) James Low
Supt. of Police Prov. Wellesley.

Province Wellesley
3 February 1830.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 133.

Fort Cornwallis the 29th April 1830.

Report on the Trade of the 3 Settlements, Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

TRADE OF PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.

External. The trade of Prince of Wales Island is carried on with the following places as will appear in the statements. vizt. Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, England, China, Java, Ceylon, Siam, Coast of Tenasserim, Acheen, Dehli, Quedah, and a few petty native ports,

* * * * * *

SIAM, Imports from. } The total Imports from Siam in Goods amounted to Sicca Rupees 216,788 of which the following are the principal articles.

Beche de Mer	6,120
Birds' Nests	13,080
Oil	1,843
Paddy	2,880
Pepper	4,810
India Piece Goods	4,800
Rice	4,800
Sugar	5,200
Tin	38,250
Tobacco	129,500
China Sundries	1,000
Siam Do.	2,700

with a few minor articles of Specie. These were imported in Dollars to the amount of Sa. Rupees 6,315.

SIAM, Exports to. } The Exports amounted to 96,093 in goods of which the following were the principal articles.

Betel Nut	3,523
Opium	26,950
India Piece Goods	57,600
China Tobacco	7,360

with a few petty articles.

The imports being as above Sicca Rupees	2,16,788.
The exports	96,093.
The Excess of Imports is	1,20,695.

* * * * * *

SINGAPORE TRADE.

The trade of Singapore is carried on with the following places, England . . . Java, Rhio, Siam.

* * * * * *

SIAM, Imports from. } The amount of imports is Sicca Rupees 7,71,057, of which the principal articles are—

Specie to the value of Sa. Rs. 21,193.

Brandy and Spirits	1,894
Earthenware	6,746
Iron Ware and Mongery	14,741
Ivory	4,946
Joss, Paper and Sticks	2,505
Nankeens	22,355
Oil	21,298
Pepper	3,641
Piece Goods Europe	8,420
Piece Goods India	4,536
Rice	79,095
Salt	42,967
Sticklac	74,748
Sugar	353,067
Sugar Candy	1,305
Tin	19,323
Tobacco	8,493
Wood Sapan	72,633
Woollens	3,262
Sundries India	22,687

exclusive of small articles amounting nearly to Sicca Rs. 2,380.

SIAM, Exports to. } The Amount of Exports is Sicca Rupees 603,246 of which the principal articles are—

Specie in value of Sa. Rs. 36,942.

Bees Wax	5,633
Camphor Malay	3,725
Copper Sheathing	3,447
Earthen Ware	3,578
Glass Ware	13,081
Gold Dust	9,767
Opium	114,201
Pepper	1,263
Piece Goods Europe	181,729
,, ,, India	186,274
Rattans	22,160
Raw Silk	2,904
Spelter	2,105
Sago	1,317
Woollens	8,756
Sundries Europe	26,170
,, India	13,708

A Comparison of the trade of Siam shews an excess of Imports of nearly Sicca Rupees 1,67,811.

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MALACCA TRADE.

* * * * * *

The trade of Malacca is carried on with the following places, Calcutta . . . Ceylon, Siam . . .

* * * * * *

SIAM. The only trade with Siam consists of the following Import of Articles.

Oil	11,035
Paddy	2,725
Rice	76,685
Salt	25,680
Sticlac	2,460
Sugar	11,975
Tobacco	1,500
Siam Sundries	8,500

exclusive of small articles amounting to about 380 Rupees.

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Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 133.

Fort Cornwallis the 23 June 1830.

Chief Secy. to Govt. Fort William 30 April 1830.

To John Pattullo Esquire
Secretary to Government
Prince of Wales Island

Sir,

* Copied from Bengal Political Cons. vol. 14.

Your Dispatch of the 23 November 1829*, submitting copies of correspondence with the Resident Councillor of Prince of Wales Island relating to the Ex King of Quedah, and to an application which it had been deemed necessary to make to the Siamese Authorities to fix the boundaries of the territories of the respective Governments in the main, has been under the consideration of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, in connection with several letters addressed to His Lordship by the Ex Rajah, and I am now directed to state to you as follows.

2. It appears by your Dispatch that the Ex Rajah has passed over from Prince of Wales Island to Province Wellesley, and endeavoured to renew an intercourse with his late subjects, thereby pursuing a course tending to make the Siamese regard the acts of our Government with distrust.

3. We have an undoubted right to prohibit the Ex King from disturbing the subsisting harmony between us and Siam, and we are bound by Treaty not to permit the former Ruler of Quedah or any of his followers to attack, disturb or injure any territory subject to Siam, omitting all agreement from which an inference might be drawn, that the Ex King of Quedah being no longer in a condition to fulfil certain things on his part, our engagements with him are at an end, and his right to protection and the enjoyment of stipulated stipend void, the Governor General in Council is disposed to think, that it better suits

the character and dignity of the British Government to acknowledge the claims of the distressed and fallen Prince to commiseration and relief, in return for the benefits conferred by his predecessors and himself when in prosperity.

4. Under this impression the Governor General in Council is pleased to overlook the past impropriety of conduct on the part of the Ex Rajah which led to the resumption of subsistence allowance, as well as his late proceedings in availing himself of his propinquity to his late dominions, to open a correspondence with his adherents in the Quedah territory hostile to the Siamese, and to resolve, that another attempt shall be made to induce him to conform to the wish of the British Government that he should retire to Malacca or some other place more remote from Quedah than Prince of Wales Island.

5. It being understood that Captain Low is held in esteem by the Ex Rajah and possesses some influence over him, that officer or some one else at Penang, to whose advise the Rajah may be disposed to attend should be employed to point out to him in a friendly manner his real position and true interests and be authorized to promise as a consequence of his embraciug the proposal to remove from Penang to Malacca, or any place distant from Quedah, that all arrears of his late stipend of Six thousand Dollars per annum shall be discharged, a free passage be provided for himself and his family and the full stipend of ten thousand dollars per annum be settled on him from the date of his fixing his residence at the place mutually agreed on.

6. But if the Ex Rajah pertinaciously persist in adherence to his own views he must be immediately removed from Province Wellesley to Prince of Wales Island, and be permitted there to enjoy his subsistence allowance of 6000 Dollars per annum, of which the

repayment may be reckoned to commence from the 1st of January last. He must at the same time be distinctly apprized in writing, that if he and his followers persist in keeping up a clandestine intercourse or correspondence with persons in Quedah, and molest the Siamese from under our protection we shall be under the painful necessity of forcibly removing him from Penang, and of delivering up to the Siamese such of his followers or adherents as may go over to Quedah, or attempt in any manner to disturb or injure the territories subject to Siam.

7. If the Ex Rajah perseveres in his intention of residing at Penang the Honorable the Governor in Council is requested to apprize the Siamese of the refusal of the Ex Rajah to retire from thence, and to inform them they are at liberty to reestablish the export duty upon Grain, agreeably to the terms of the Treaty.

8. Relatively to the question of the Eastern boundary of Province Wellesley, I am directed to remark, that amongst the correspondence submitted with your dispatch the Governor General in Council does not find a copy of the Honorable the Governor's letter to the Rajah of Ligore, requesting him to appoint Commissioners for the purpose of ascertaining it. In the Treaty of 1802 with the King of Quedah, it was stipulated that a tract of territory on the sea coast between two rivers to the North and South, and measuring inland to the East from the sea side sixty orlongs should be ceded to the Honorable Company, the Eastern boundary was never, it seems, traced, or any one appointed to undertake the duty. Indeed until late years, the boundary in that directions is uuderstood to have been mere jungle and waste, and scarcely worth marking off. Recently increasing population has now rendered it desirable to have the boundary defined, but it is believed that at Penang there is a Map of Province Wellesley executed by a Mr Fletcher, a surveyor, in

which the boundary line appears. If therefore doubts continue to exist, and they probably may, owing to a difference between the Penang and Quedah Measurement of the orlong, His Lordship in Council is of opinion, that instead of alarming the Siamese or exciting their jealousy, it will be better that our own officers should measure out the sixty orlongs and establish the line, leaving the Siamese when they choose to take up the question to prove our measurement erroneous.

9. To satisfying them however that we have no intention of encroaching beyond the line so marked out it may be advisable to furnish them with a copy of a Map of the Boundary, explaining to them that we claim no land beyond that line which marks the limits of our possessions to the Eastward, as held by us since our first acquisition of that Territory.

I have &ca.

(Signed) Geo. Swinton
Chief Sec. to Government.

Fort William
30th April 1830.

Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 133.

Fort Cornwallis the 31 May 1830.

Rajah of Ligore.

Translation of a letter from the Rajah of Ligore to the Honble. the Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

I beg to inform my friend that it has been reported to me that the Ex Rajah of Quedah has removed from Penang and taken his residence at Prye for the purpose of doing evil things, and planning with the Malays to invade and attack Quedah, in direct contradiction to the treaty at present existing between the Siamese and the English, drawn up by Captain Henry Burney on the 20 June 1826, in which it is mentioned in the fourteenth article of the Treaty that all matters relating to the Quedah Country shall be adjusted according to the 13th article of the Treaty, by which the Siamese are allowed to have the Government of the Quedah country; and the inhabitants of the two countries viz. Quedah and Pulo Penang are allowed to trade on the same amicable terms as formerly; the Siamese on their part binding themselves not to take any duties from provisions and cattle that are reared in the Quedah country, such as cows, buffaloes, ducks and fowls, paddy and rice, not to put any taxes at the entrances of any rivers, or farm them out, to allow all the slaves and companions of the Ex Rajah of Quedah to go where they please; the English on their side binding themselves not to have any intention of taking the Quedah country, not to make war or raise any disturbance there, not to allow the Ex Rajah of Quedah or any of his friends to make war or raise any connection in Quedah, or any countries belonging to the Siamese, that they would endeavour to induce the Ex Rajah to take up his residence in another country, and not allow him to

remain at Pulo Penang or Prye (meaning Province Wellesley) or Perak, or Salengore, or in a Burmese country ; should the English not remove the Ex Rajah to another country according to the terms of the Treaty, then that the Siamese should be at liberty to impose duties on rice, paddy &ca. as formerly was the custom ; and any Siamese, Malay or Chinese who wish to leave Penang and settle at Quedah shall not be prevented from doing so ; such is the purport of the 13th article of the Treaty mutually executed by the Siamese and the Bengal Government, a copy of which with the Bengal chop is deposited with the Siamese, and a counterpart with the Siamese chop is deposited at Bengal; all which circumstances are known to the Penang Government : this Treaty the Siamese have ratified, and will continue to keep as long as there is a heaven and earth ; should the Treaty not be adhered to it will be a disgrace to the party breaking it. At the time I arrived from the Siamese country, I released Tunku Jamjam the younger sister of the Ex Rajah, and Wan Nang, and Wan Ee, and all the companions and slaves of the Ex Rajah, allowing them to depart wherever they pleased. I also took off the duties from rice, paddy &ca. in all things fulfilling the terms of the Treaty, which however the Ex Rajah of Quedah does not follow, as he has gone to take up his residence at Prye, a place in which he is forbidden to live by the Treaty, showing evidently that he does not wish to follow the Treaty, but to act in contradiction to it; I therefore request my friends the Honble. Robert Fullerton, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, and the Honble. Robert Ibbetson, the Resident Councillor and Raja Muda of Penang, and the great men who reside at Penang under the authority of the Bengal Government, to consider and fix on a way of putting this right according to the terms of the Treaty so that there may be no hindrance to the friendship which at present exists between the Siamese and English and that the inhabitants of the two

countries may continue to trade with each other as formerly. As soon as my friend is acquainted with the contents of this letter I hope he will contrive to settle this business according to the Treaty, and send me back an answer by Kun Aksorn, my envoy, and the bearer of this letter who has orders to return and make me acquainted with my friend's answer. Written on the 23d of the month Ramlan.

A true Translation

(Signed) H. Nairne.
Malay Translator to Government.

Penang
The 18 May 1830.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 19.

Fort William 8th October 1830.

No. 5.

To the Right Honorable
Lord W. C. Bentinck, G. C. B.,
Governor General in Council &ca. &ca. &ca.
Fort William.

My Lord,

I have now the honor to transmit copies of all letters and other communications which have passed in consequence of the orders conveyed to the late Government in Mr. Secretary Prinsep's letter of the 30th last, relative to the Ex King of Quedah. I regret to say that every attempt made by Captain Low, Mr. Nairne, as well as myself to induce him to quit Province Wellesley has failed, the Ex King after having given hopes and every assurance of taking up his residence on this Island, seems again to have relapsed into the same sullen state of obstinacy which has generally marked his conduct since the completion of the Siamese Treaty, and I now entertain the most serious conviction that nothing short of the application of actual forcible compulsion can produce his removal, nor any thing short of a military guard detain him even if removed. Legal doubts that have been started as attending the case induce me to abstain from having recourse to that extreme measure. The positive refusal to reside on this Island or to go to Malacca may be considered as the virtual rejection of the liberal and considerate terms held out to him, and if left to his fate the British Government can have nothing to reproach itself for whatever may happen to him. The Treaty it will be observed in respect to his residence is only conditional.

"The English engage that they will make arrangements for the Governor of Quedah to go and live in some other country and not at Prince of Wales Island

or Prye, or in Perak, Salengore, or any other Burmese country. If the English do let the former Governor of Quedah go and live in some other country as here engaged, the Siamese may continue to levy an export duty upon paddy and rice at Quedah."

There is no particular prohibition against his residence at Prye (Province Wellesey) more than Prince of Wales Island. In either case the Siamese are at liberty to impose duties on grain as provided for. The residence of the Ex King there is no doubt extremely inconvenient, and must induce the necessity of a much greater degree of vigilance to prevent the infraction of a preceding provision, by any attack upon the Siamese territory by his followers, and although any serious danger to the Government of Quedah from any such attack is entirely out of the question, the residence of the Ex King on Province Wellesley is further objectionable as tending to keep up constant alarm, and measures must be taken to convince the Siamese that such has not our sanction, but is in direct defiance of our orders. A general Publication must be made that he is so residing there. The keeping of arms in his house and the assembly of armed men for his protection must be prohibited and the inhabitants must be cautioned against affording him any assistance or acting in any way in his support, and such a course may still have the effect of inducing the Ex King to remove, an object to which Mr Ibbetson and his assistants will no doubt continue to direct their utmost attention and exertions.

I have &ca.

(Signed) Robt. Fullerton
Chief Commissioner for the
Affairs of Singapore, P. W.
Island and Malacca.

Prince of Wales Island
The 25th August 1830.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 19.

Fort William 8th October 1830.

No. 6 contd.

Translation of a letter from Captain Low to the Ex Raja.

After Compliments.

The instructions of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council of Bengal have been received to the effect that should my friend persist in not following the line of conduct which the Supreme Goverment desires my friend to pursue, namely to proceed to Malacca, it will be required of my friend to proceed thereupon to Pulo Penang, for such are the orders of the Supreme Goverment, and they must be attended to. My friend cannot be allowed to remain longer on this coast. Moreover when my friend shall have gone over to Penang my friend will, so long as he shall continue to reside there, receive from the Honorable Company a yearly subsistence allowance of 6,000 Spanish Dollars, and repayment at that rate commencing from the first day of January last (1830) being at 500 Dollars per month.

This is settled by order of the Supreme Goverment, and it is also settled that if my friend or any of my friend's followers go and league with people in Quedah so that any disturbance with the Siamese authorities shall ensue, or clandestinely correspond with persons in Quedah, or do any thing within the British territory under the British Flag which may molest the Siamese in any way, the Supreme Goverment will be under the painful necessity of forcibly removing my friend from Penang and of delivering up to the Siamese such of his followers or adherents as may go over to Quedah or attempt in any manner to disturb or injure the territories subject to Siam. My friend I trust will quit this coast and go to Penang within six days hence

and my friend may stay where he pleases on that Island. This negotiation must be considered at an end after the receipt of a reply to this letter.

Written and dated on the 14th day of July 1830.

A true translation

(Signed) James Low.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 19.

Fort William 8th October 1830.

No. 7.

To R. Fullerton Esqr.
Chief Commissioner for the Affairs
of Singapore, Prince of Wales Island
and Malacca.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch, No. 126, dated the 25th August,* relative to the Ex Rajah of Quedah.

* *See ante, No. 5.*

2. The Raja having rejected the liberal terms which you were authorized by the [instructions of] 30th April last to propose to him, and it appearing that nothing short of compulsory means will effect his removal from Province Wellesley, the Governor General in Council now deems it essentially necessary to the preservation of tranquillity in that quarter, that he should be removed by force if necessary, after once more declaring the positive orders of the Supreme Government for his immediate retirement to Malacca or such other place of residence as he may choose to fix on equally or farther removed from the neighbourhood of the Siamese.

3. In the event of his complying with this order the Governor General is still willing to allow him the full stipend already authorized by the instructions of the 30th April last, while he shall remain at the place fixed for his future residence.

4. If he compel you to employ force for his removal, you will be pleased to authorize the British authority at Malacca to pay him the inferior stipend of six thousand dollars for the support of himself and his family while he shall remain there, with a distinct intimation that it will be forfeited if he at-

tempt to return to the vicinity of Quedah or by any other act of disobedience and contempt of the order of the British Government.

I have &ca.

(Signed) G. Swinton
Chief Secy. to Government.

Fort William
8th October 1830.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 361.

Fort William 10th June 1831.

No. 4.

To The Chief Secretary
to the Government.

Sir,

I had the honor to report to you on the 26th February last, having, in consequence of a friendly letter from the Rajah of Ligore, deputed Mr. Blundell to that Chief. I now beg to forward for the Honorable the Vice President in Council copy of a letter from Mr. Blundell stating his having failed in reaching Bandoung, the Rajah's usual place of residence.

2. The failure of Mr. Blundell's Mission is to be ascribed to a report, which has occasioned considerable alarm, not only among the Chiefs tributary to Siam, but also at Bangkok, of our having received on this coast envoys from Cochin China, with whom measures have been concerted for the conquest of Siam. This report has emanated from the two Cochin Chinese vessels that lately quitted Calcutta having been driven into Rangoon by distress of weather.

3. The mischief which such a report was likely to produce has, I hope, been checked. Letters have been addressed by me to the Siamese Chiefs explaining the circumstances under which the Cochin Chinese vessels put into Rangoon.

4. The envoys from the Rajah of Ligore to the Governor General, alluded to in Mr. Blundell's letter, have arrived at Moulmain. I shall forward them by the first steam vessel proceeding to Calcutta. They have brought with them a number of presents and about twenty thousand rupees for the purpose of purchasing a small steam engine.

5. I am happy to state that the expense incurred on account of Mr. Blundell's Mission to the Rajah of Ligore does not exceed four hundred rupees.

I have &ca.

(Signed) A. D. Maingy
Tenasserim Provinces.

Tavoy
4th May 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 361.

Fort William 10th June 1831.

No. 5.

To the Commissioner
in the Tenasserim Provinces,
Moulmain.

Sir,

I have the honor to report to you my return to Tavoy, having failed in the object with which I was diputed by you, with presents to the Rajah of Ligore.

2. I arrived at Tuccopa on the 17th February, where a letter and message awaited me from the Rajah of Ligore, thanking me for the compliment paid him by my visit, and expressing his regret it was not in his power to receive me, as he had just then been called to Bangkok to assist at the Funeral of the Second King of Siam, but that he sent two of his sons to receive me. These young men arrived at Tuccopa on the 22d. I expressed to them my great regret that I should not meet with their father, but intimated my intention to accompany the images of Gautama which I had brought with me as presents, across the country to their father's residence. To this every possible objection was urged, concluding with the question of why I wanted to cross the country now their father was absent and they had been commissioned by him to receive any communication I might have to make. I had no satisfactory reply to make to this as the ostensible object of my visit could not now be accomplished and I did not consider myself warranted to excite the jealous suspicions of the Siamese by insisting on going across the country without some adequate object in view. I confined myself to stating that not thinking any difficulties would be raised to my going even if their father were absent, which I was not inclined to believe, until it was confirmed to me by them, I had sent away the vessel

that brought me; That Tuccopa was a wretched place to reside in and that I should prefer travelling to remaining there. On their still making objections I endeavoured to alarm them by saying I should consider their frivolous excuses as tantamount to a refusal to allow me to proceed, that I should report the same to my Government and that I could not answer for the light in which you would view so suspicious a circumstance as my being not allowed to proceed beyond the place I was then at. I told them also I much feared such a want of civility in them would very probably tend to put a similar end to the Mission their father was sending through you to the Supreme Government by your refusing to provide them with a passage to Calcutta. These hints however had not the effect which I anticipated of procuring me an invitation to accompany them on their return home.

3. From what I had learnt privately when at Tuccopa I imagine the Rajah of Ligore could not have allowed me openly to visit him without incurring the suspicions of the Court of Siam in a greater degree than at any former period, as it appears they are greatly excited by Major Burney's Mission to Ava and the circumstance of two Cochin Chinese vessels having lately visited both Calcutta and Rangoon to which latter place, I believe, they were driven by stress of weather on their return.

4. I was treated during my stay at Tuccopa with great hospitality and attention, the Rajah's sons doing every thing in their power to make me comfortable. I informed the young man I thought it very probable I should be enabled to gratify them next year with a trip in the steamer and would cross over the country from some part or other of the coast and bring them back with me. They wished to know from whence, but I told them I was not yet myself aware of that.

5. Finding my health daily failing me owing to my long confinement in such an uninteresting and unhealthy place (at that season of the year) as Tuccopa, I resolved upon waiting no longer for the vessel that brought me, but came away in a native boat and arrived at Mergui on the 14th ultimo, in a state of much suffering from anxiety of mind and exposure to the weather.

6. Tuccopa is nothing more than a small village situated about thirty miles up a small river of the same name. The river has a north west course and discharges itself by several mouths, the southermost of which is in North Latitude 8°. 55′, and the northern in north Latitude 9°. 20′, forming Sunderbunds navigable for small craft. At Tuccopa the river is at this season very narrow and shallow. There is very little cultivation in the neighbourhood and the few people whom I saw seemed in miserable circumstances.

Nearly the whole population, however, with the Governor of the place at their head, have been employed during the last three years at Bandoung (the present residence of the Rajah of Ligore) in building boats for that Prince, without being allowed to visit their wives and families during that period. The only produce that renders Tuccopa of any value to the Siamese is that of tin of which about two thousand peculs are annually obtained. The monopoly of the collection is vested in one person direct from the Court of Siam, but I could not ascertain what he paid for it.

This man has a number of personal slaves (forming at present almost the only inhabitants at Tuccopa) who are employed in collecting the ore, and at the same time both sublets his privilege to others and obliges all others who collect the ore to sell it to him at a fixed price. It is collected in the bed of the river near the foot of the hills at about a day's journey east of the place and brought in on elephants.

7. The route across the country to Bandoung is described as of easy access and during the rains as requiring very little land journeying, the Tuccopa river can then be ascended to near the foot of the hills, across which, a day's journey, the Bandoung River is met with in which a boat will reach that place in four or five days. In the dry season one day's journey on this side of the hills and two on the other are taken, in consequence of the shallowness of the river. The hills are described as far from steep.

I have &ca.

(Signed) E. A. Blundell
Deputy Commissioner.

Tavoy the 15th
April 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

Fort William 22nd July 1831.

No. 46.

To K. Murchison Esqre.
Deputy Resident at
Prince of Wales Island.

Sir,

I have the honor to report Tuanku Kudin left this Province this morning and it is reported that he has gone towards Quedah and that thirty boats collected from Penang and various parts of this coast (which went with passes as petty traders) await him at some place betwixt this and Quedah. When I have received fuller information on this subject I will have the honor to apprize you of it. Should Tuanku Kudin as formerly invade Quedah it will perhaps be necessary that I should make a requisition for an increase of troops to prevent any disturbance on the frontier, and to drive back those individuals who may, in defiance of every proclamation to the contrary, have left the province with Tuanku Kudin to molest the Siamese.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low
Assistant Resident.

Province Wellesley
the 16th April 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

Fort William 22nd July 1831.

No. 46 condt.

To K. Murchison Esqre.
Deputy Resident at
Prince of Wales Island.

Sir,

I have the honor to supply the following additional information on the subject of the reported intended attack on Quedah, as stated in my letter of the 16th instant.

1. It is widely reported that the Chief of the Siamese, Prince of Pondelon or Daloong, [Phatalurg] has given private encouragement to the armament.

2. A force rated at 3000 men (which may be reduced to perhaps 500) have, by reports entitled to some credit, come down from Patani and have, in conjunction with Malays from within the Honble. Company's jurisdiction, seized on two Siamese posts, a day or two distant only from the North East frontier of this Province, from whence they have either marched or intend in a few days to march on Quedah. From private information I have every reason to think it highly probable that Tuanku Soliman, the Ex Rajah's brother now governing the Siamese districts Eastward of our Eastern line of frontier, intends to join this force. He is in alliance with the Patani Chief and many of his people, headed, it is said, by his son Tuanku Mahomed and his nephew Tuanku Mahomed Kapi, have already joined the force alluded to above. I am also inclined to credit this information on the grounds that it affords the most ready explanation of the recent extraordinary conduct of Tuanku Soliman.

Should this Chief evacuate his post to attack the power in amity with the British, I would respectfully suggest, as a measure conducive to the general tranquillity and as consistent with the Treaty of Bangkok, that with the consent of the Siamese authorities at Quedah, the Tuanku's Post of Kotah be seized and kept for the Siamese until the affairs of Quedah shall have been settled.

3. I find it extremely difficult to get information as to the strength of the invading parties, their rendezvous and their routes, since I have no gun boat as formerly at command, and people not concerned in the expedition are afraid to cross the frontier or put to sea. But from all I can learn the party in boats and the lower land detachment have formed a junction at Lala [on the] river Murbow, and there await some concerted signal to attack Quedah Fort, which it is supposed will take place in a day or two.

4. On my return from the Northern frontier yesterday I observed a large Purlis trading boat lying in a creek, the crew of which told me that two days before, *i. e.* on the 15th instant, their boat was seized along with another boat which was in company, by Ahmud, commonly called Tuan Kechil, son of Rajah Kaji Kassim, merchant in Penang, who ordered them to accompany him to attack Quedah, but that they slipped their cable during the ensuing night and escaped, the other boat remaining. This took place on the beach at Qualla Muda and *within the Honble. Company's jurisdiction.*

5. The ammunition, cartouch boxes and other warlike stores for the expedition have been purchased in Penang, and the Bengal or Hindostan men who have been enlisted at 5 dollars monthly besides rations, have received sepoys coats, which were easily obtained in the Penang shops, the owners of which had purchased them from Sepoys and other persons.

This last appears to me to be an exceedingly unfortunate circumstance, since whatever may by the issue of the expected contest, the intention of the ringleaders is evident, and cannot fail to make an impression on the Siamese unfavorable to British faith.

6. The Province is internally quiet at present, but with such movements as are taking place all around precautions are necessary, especially as gangs of robbers may be expected to take advantage of the posture of affairs to plunder our outer districts.

7. I have done all that my limited means will allow of to ensure the internal peace of the Province.

1. A Proclamation has been issued confirming one promulgated formerly, and declaring that those who accompany this expedition will run the risk of all the penalties which their conduct may subject them to.

2. No boats are allowed for the present to leave the Coast for Quedah.

3. All boats returning from Quedah will be detained and the crews examined and proceeded with accordingly.

4. Lists are making out of the people who have left the Province to go with the expedition.

5. Depositions will be taken as they can be obtained against the ringleaders.

6. A Post has been established with four Sepoys and two Peons at the mouth of the Muda river, to which six more Sepoys will require to be added.

7. Another post is preparing on the North bank of the Pry River at the frontier, near Tuanku Soliman's residence, where I intend to post two peons and 8 or 10 Sepoys if supplied.

8. A letter has been addressed to the Quedah Siamese Chief, expressive of my regret that people should be so daring as to venture into Quedah in defiance of British Proclamations to the contrary, and offering, if he desires it, to apply to the Deputy Resident for such aid as may be wanted. Also informing him of the reported disposition of Tuanku Soliman's people and his (Soliman's) suspicious behaviour at the present time, and offering to apply for aid to occupy that place for the Siamese until affairs have been settled.

9. A Post has been ordered to be immediately formed on the high road to Quedah leading out of our North East frontier, to which place a temporary guard of twelve men will be sent if the Detachment I have already applied for be granted.

8. Under whatever aspect present affairs are viewed the ultimate total ruin of Quedah seems inevitable. This Province it is to be hoped will not sustain any injury and it is most likely that the greatest part of the remaining population of Quedah will seize the opportunity offered by the confusion which will arise to emigrate into the Company's territory.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low,
Assistant Resident.

Province Wellesley
the 18th April 1831.

Bengal political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

Fort William 22nd July 1831.

No. 6 of No. 46. To K. Murchison Esqre.
Deputy Resident at
Prince of Wales Island.

Sir,

I have the honor to report that certain intelligence has been received that several near relatives of the Ex King of Quedah, with numerous adherents, have gone northward of the Honble. Company's territories with the avowed purpose of attacking the Siamese in Quedah, and as I have special reasons for believing that Tuanku Abdullah, son of the Ex King, meditates a speedy junction with these lawless characters, I have, in order to maintain the peace of this Province, and our amicable relations with Siam, taken on myself the responsibility of placing Tuanku Abdullah under restraint, which was happily effected during the middle of last night. Tuanku Din will accompany him.

He will be forwarded to the jetty at Penang during the evening and delivered into the charge of any person you may be pleased to direct to await his arrival there.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low
Assistant Resident.

Province Wellesley
20th April 1831.

Fort William 22nd July 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

No. 46 contd.

To K. Murchison Esqre.
Deputy Resident at
Prince of Wales Island.

Sir,

It is unnecessary for me to report to you, since you have been already acquainted with it, the sacking of Quedah by the piratical force under Tuanku Kudin and others, the success of which, from the reports made to me by people who have returned, may be mainly attributed to the misplaced and culpable bravery of of about 30 or 40 natives of Hindostan (most of whom were discharged Sepoys) who led the attack, and whose appearance under Ahmed or Tuan Kechil, merchant of Penang, their commander (and who wore a British officer's uniform, it is reported), at their head, so paralyzed the efforts of the Siamese that they made but a short resistance and fled, after killing, it is said, fifty or sixty of the assailants.

I have now the honor to submit a few remarks which may serve to elucidate the object of this inroad or attack on Quedah, which so manifestly tends to interrupt the existing amicable relations betwixt the British Government and the Siamese.

Quedah having been reduced by the invasion of the Siamese from an independent Principality or nearly so, to a mere Province of Siam, it is very natural that its former occupiers should wish to regain possession of it. But nothing has yet been adduced, that I know of, *directly* implicating the Ex King in the last irruption into that country—although he must be exposed to strong suspicions.

This is the second attack which has been made within the last three years *by the very same individuals*

on Quedah. On the former occasion they were beaten off, nor did the Siamese deign to supplicate the Penang Government, as far as I know, for *military aid*, relying, as they have in this last attack done, on their own strength, and the terror with which they fondly believed their former prowess had inspired the Malays.

The Siamese, it is notorious, have misgoverned Quedah, although bound by the 13th Article of the Treaty of Bangkok "to take proper care of its people."

They have carried upwards of 1,000 of the children of its inhabitants into slavery in Ligore and Siam, thus exasperating the people to rebellion, and relying on the terror of their arms, they have endeavoured to rule Quedah by aid of the very men whom they oppress, and have scarcely ever before maintained attack or insurrection.

In opposition to my remonstrances several years ago, they employed as their admiral or Laksamana, a man named Pu Kursa, a noted pirate who dared not venture to Penang, and whose protection by the Siamese was reported by me to Government.

This person joined the present invading force with his followers.

The whole country has risen, I am informed, in favor of Kudin and a large Patani force has joined him.

The Rajah of Ligore, it is well known, has ever shown in his conduct a degree of mental and bodily vigour and of ambition, rarely to be found conjoined in any true Siamese. He is in fact the son of a Chinese by a Siamese mother.

When I was in Phoonga the Chief informed me that the Rajah of Ligore had tried to supplant him at the Court and to get Phoonga and Junkceylon annexed

to his government. In this he was disappointed, for it should seem that the Court of Bangkok, after he had seized Quedah, were rather jealous of his growing influence, and when I visited Trang in 1824 the Emperor had fettered him with a Council of two Chiefs.

He contrived however by his interest at Court to lull the suspicious excited by the reports of his enemies, the Chiefs of Daloong or Sangora, that he wished to assert independence, and he got the Chaiya and Choomphon Provinces annexed to his government, giving him a considerable additional command of men. He might perhaps be now able to collect from two to three thousand troops within a month's time from within his own jurisdiction alone, and by requisitions on the lower provinces of Siam, perhaps nearly ten thousand men.

The Governor of Sangora has long been his bitter enemy, and has been constantly representing to the Court at Bangkok that he has misgoverned and destroyed Quedah.

The Court acted so far on these complaints as to direct the Ligorian to proceed to the capital to explain matters—an order he has found plausible means to evade, and no doubt will in future decline complying with.

His secret influence with people about the Court, which is to my knowledge great, alone insures his head after such behaviour.

The Governor of Sangora has been long a concealed friend of the Ex King of Quedah, a natural consequence of his dislike of the Ligorian and of his own private views, directed to the destruction of the latter, and he and the Ex King have long kept up a private correspondence. About a month ago a special messenger named Moon Rak and nine followers came overland and through this Province from Sangora

charged, as my police officer at Panga discovered, with a confidential communication to the Ex King. They evaded my questions, merely stating that they wished to purchase some fire arms. I did not give the subject much consideration at the time but it is, in coincidence with recent events, entitled to some notice.

That the Chief of Sangora would place the Ex Rajah, if he could, on his former throne, he becoming subservient to Sangora, I have scarcely a doubt. But knowing as I do the efficiency, as well as the unbending and despotic temper of the Siamese Government, I cannot conceive it to be at all probable that either the Sangora, the Phoong, the Thaloong or any other Siamese Governor would venture, even in thought, to afford *military aid* to the Ex King for the recovery of his country. And on such an exigency as the present, none of these Chiefs would dare to hesitate a moment in complying with any requisition of the Ligorian for troops to support the honor of the Court, especially as Ligore is a Province of the first rank. But the Ex King cannot well, I should think, be blamed for endeavouring to effect his restoration through the *intercession* of the Sangora Chief with the Emperor of Siam.

As it was the Court of Siam itself which gave the order for the expulsion of the Ex King of Quedah, on account of his delaying to pay to it the customary homage of an inferior State, it will therefore in all probability resent the present attack as an insult to its dignity, rid itself of any impression which the Sangora Chief may have made on it favorable to the Ex Rajah's interests and order an expedition against Quedah of too formidable a nature to be resisted by feeble or disunited Malays.

But it is likely too, that impelled by his known recklessness and ferocity of disposition, the Ligorian

will forthwith assemble his troops and inflict his vengeance on that devoted country, converting it into little better than a jungle. There is indeed no data by which we can calculate the probable effect which the late attack may have on that semi-barbarous Court (Siam) or to what lengths it may go, inflated as it is by vanity and believing as it no doubt will that we have connived at, if not abetted, the insult offered to its power.

Their slumbering ambition may be awakened, it may lead them to consider the Treaty as broken and stimulate them to renew the scenes of desolation which followed their arms in former times on the Peninsula of Malacca, over which they have ever been impatient to extend their depopulating and degrading sway. Perak and Salengore would in such a case be the first States to suffer.

But I fervently trust such a consummation may be averted.

Tuanku Kudin the nephew, Tuanku Long Putih the brother-in-law, with Jaffir an illegitimate brother of the Ex King are the Chiefs of the present expedition from this quarter now in Quedah.

In February 1829 the Siamese Chief of Quedah complained to the Penang Government against the individuals whose names are given in the margin, and who he describes as pirates who had just been repulsed in an attempt to surprize under *British colours* the Quedah Fort.

Tuanku Kudin the nephew of the Ex King of Quedah, Tuanku Dagang and Tuanku Jaffar, the two sons of Tuanku Long Putih, with Panglima Mannan, two discharged Honble. Company's peons from Prye, Che Man Ali and Che Chiya both from Tanjong Tokong, Panglima Sam, Panglima Imam Semahum, Chee Hadji, Panglima Hoosain, Panglima Mun, Panglima Husain, Che Rhio, Awang Lahat, Che Akul.

He also reported about the same time that the Ex King and his sons with Long Putih, husband of Tuanku Jumjum, the Ex King's sister, intended to attack Quedah, and requested that they might be prevented

from so doing. The Honble. the Governor in Council then issue a proclamation that all persons molesting Quedah would be treated *as pirates*, and the Ex King was informed that he would be put under restraint should he act in a hostile manner against Quedah.

These Chiefs attacked the Siamese by sea and land in 1829 and being beaten off with loss Tuanku Kudin then returned to Province Wellesley and fixed himself at the mouth of the Muda river *on our side*. Here, at the instigation of the Siamese, it is said, he was attacked in the night time by some Chinese, who barred his door, placed a quantity of gunpowder below the house, and blew him up with his family. His wife and child were killed and he himself so dreadfully scorched that it was not believed he would have survived. After this event he seems to have thought only of revenge.

When I took charge of Province Wellesley, Tuanku Kudin had established himself at Bukit Tungal, on the Kreean River in this Province, the previous occupier of which, Toon Kunoo, he had shortly before inhumanly murdered and robbed, and whose wife he had seized. Here he began to commit oppressive and piratical acts which compelled me (not being then a magistrate) to forcibly expel him from our territory.

He remained for some time away, but on finding that other characters equally notorious as himself could live with impunity at Penang he went there, and eventually set himself down close to my residence in this Province, defying my authority.

Being *then* a magistrate I could not proceed against him without formal affidavits &ca. and I was informed by authority that unless I chose to run the risk myself he could not otherwise be apprehended, or if apprehended, legally detained in custody; and that Government could not with a Court of Judicature

here, bear me out if I seized him without the requisite legal formalities. He has therefore continued to reside wherever he liked. At the same time the Government declared that "he ought not to be permitted to remain within the Honble. Company's territories."

Tuanku Long Putih has twice attacked Quedah since the Treaty was made betwixt the British and Siamese, as has Jaffar also.

The former was often, previous to this period told by me to quit the Province, but he applied for protection to, and was supported by the Ex Rajah, and finally sent me a reply in insolent terms that he would not go.

To my request what was to be done, the Honble. the Governor in Council was pleased to direct that "should he remain quiet he did not perceive any advantage from disturbing him."

I reported to Government that this pirate, Long Putih, had attacked Quedah and had returned to live in Province Wellesley.

On my ordering him out, he declared he would not go, and I found that he had applied to the Honble. the Recorder for the protection of the Court. I therefore thought it useless to proceed further in the matter.

Tuanku Abdulla, now under restraint, was an active agent in the expedition before this last one against Quedah, and by all accounts was just going to join Tuanku Kudin when apprehended along with Tuanku Din and Joonoos by my order a few days ago. His intention could in this last instance therefore scarcely be doubted. He was found in the very same position on our frontier which he occupied previous to his former attack on Quedah. Mr. Pattullo,

then Superintendent of Police, reported to Government that "two of the Rajah's sons (Abdullah and Din) have taken up a position on the Muda River to join the Ex Rajah and escape."

The people who have so inconsiderately and culpably left Penang and this coast with this present expedition appear to me separable into three parts or classes. One, at the head of which is Tuanku Kudin himself and to which Tuan Kechil seems to have attached himself, went for the sake of plunder and to gratify a restless disposition. The second class also, headed by Kudin, Long Putih and by other Chiefs, seems to have been actuated by the spirit of revenge and hatred. And the third has obviously followed for the purpose of collecting and bringing away their friends and relatives into our territories.

The second class, with the Hindostan men, will remain there probably until expelled by the Siamese.

When the Siamese do appear, some resistance may be made by a few of Kudin's party, but it is to be apprehended that the bulk of the population will seek refuge in Province Wellesley. And as they will be pressed hard by the Ligorian it is even *possible* that under the exasperation of the moment his troops may pass our frontier and devastate the Honorable Company's frontier territory if not opposed by an adequate force. The populution would then have every reason to assist the regular troops in defending the frontier.

Tuanku Soliman, who lately gave me so much trouble about the boundary, and who avoided all communication of a friendly nature, has sent to me a letter couched in deprecatory terms, which serves to confirm my suspicions of his being concerned in the attack on Quedah. I have informed him verbally that all matters at issue have been referred to the Ligor Chief, to whom he may apply as to his proper lord.

Should Soliman fly into our territory I fear I must detain him in custody, that the Siamese may not have additional cause to think that we encourage treason on the part of their public servants.

It may perhaps be asked how it happened that the movements of Tuanku Kudin and others were not known.

During the last four years scarcely a month has passed over without reports of expeditions on the part of Kudin and others against Quedah or remonstrance from the Siamese regarding these people being protected and the permission given to the Ex King to remaining at Penang, and one expedition did actually attack Quedah in the year 1829 as before stated, but was quite defeated.

The Siamese believed themselves invincible, and the people of Penang considered Kudin and his party too contemptible for notice.

The police, however they might be convinced that Tuanku Kudin would again try his strength on a befitting occasion, could never obtain such evidence as a magistrate could act upon; where the interests of a portion of the population, and the feelings of the whole, are, as in the present case as regards the Malays, ranged on one side, the difficulty of detecting combinations is very greatly increased, and it has not been hitherto customary or authorized that any public officer should seize persons on bare suspicion only.

Lately too the Police Establishment was reduced to such narrow limits and the pay was so low that every possible inducement existed for designing men to attempt to corrupt them and bribe them to connivance.

I rather believe however that they have generally resisted the temptation. Yet with such a weak aud

scattered police, without any Intelligence Department, or allowance for one, or any gun boat or other boat,it has often been found impossible by me to obtain even common information.

My control has never extended over the petty trading boats of this coast, which get passes at Penang and are then beyond the cognizance of my police.

Every body now says he knew of the intended attack—so we all did by report I dare say. But did any person come forward and declare that he personally knew when, how, or where it was to take place? I had long ago believed that such an expedition would be sent a *second* time and reported to the then Government accordingly. But no discretionary authority was ever given to me to act on presumptive evidence only. I could not have done so without incurring a very serious responsibility with reference to my situation as a magistrate, and the existence of the Charter of the Court of Judicature and the probability of a new Court of Judicature being soon reestablished.

Had Abdullah and Din and Joonoos resisted, which they seemed at first disposed to do, much blood might have been shed. But as noted disturbers of the public peace I trust their detention by me will be deemed a measure of urgent necessity and will be justified by that necessity.

I frequently wrote to the Siamese Chief informing him that Kudin and others meditated an attack and offering to assist on our frontier. And I very lately complained to him against Tuanku Soliman for encouraging armed men to cross our frontier into *his district*. Yet that Chief, although he profusely thanked me for my information, treated it lightly, never deigned to ask for military aid, and seemed secure in his own means.

The boats which left Penang and Province Wellesley at intervals with the professed purpose of trading had Custom House passes and of course could not be cognizable by my police while the owners refrained from overt acts. Generally speaking these trading boats conveyed the arms and stores, passed the Honble. Company's jurisdiction and formed a rendezvous in the creeks betwixt us and Quedah, the ringleaders living all the while quietly at Penang and Province Wellesley without any arms or warlike stores near them, as if quite unprepared for any act of aggression. When all was ready they slipped off in small sampans and joined their party.

Should assistance ever be afforded from Penang to the Siamese under circumstances like the present, my impression derived from local acquaintance with the country and people, of the force which would be required effectually to drive out such a banditti as that of Kudin and his party from the Fort, and to retain it until the return of the Siamese may be here (and I trust to its being considered as not intrusively so) stated.

To carry the Fort, backed as Kudin is by the whole native population of Quedah and as report speaks by a strong body of men from the populous and more warlike province of Patani, *not less* I consider than two full Companies of Sepoys of 100 men each if possible, a party of artillery and Golaundauze to throw a few shells in, and an adequate number of strong boats, manned, would be wanted.

Each boat to have a gun or mortar mounted on a platform to be lightly covered in, and to carry a supply of provisions for a month at the least.

It would depend on circumstances after the Fort should fall what force would be required to garrison the place, and whether any land operation might be necessary. But I apprehend the latter could not be

undertaken very *extensively* with such means as Penang at present affords, without reducing its defensive strength too much. Perhaps it might be requisite to dislodge the insurgents from Allooster the former Capital lying about 5 hours up the river, and where they are now in force.

I believe that the appearance of British troops at Quedah in aid of the Siamese would instantly convince the inhabitants of the futility of holding out, and induce them to return to their homes or seek a refuge from the expected vengeance of the Ligorian by emigrating to Penang and Province Wellesley.

In such event too it might be politic to issue a Proclamation that any householders or persons domiciled at Penang or Province Wellesley who should be found in arms *opposing the Honble. Company's troops* would be treated as traitors and enemies to the British.

I beg to state, that having deemed it my duty in the present exigency to make a temporary arrangement in my military capacity with the Officer Commanding the troops, I am ready and will feel proud to act either in that capacity or in my political one, in any manner which may be considered most conducive to the public interest.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low
Assistant Resident.

Province Wellesley
the 25th April 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

Fort William 22nd July 1831.

No. 44.

To the Resident.

Sir,

It is my painful duty to report a series of events which have terminated in the expulsion of the Siamese from Quedah and the capture of the place on Tuesday the 16th instant by a flotilla force under the personal command of Tuanko Kudin. a notorious character, whose suspected addiction to piracy must be well known to you.

2. This flotilla is stated to consist of 35 or 40 boats of very small burthen, carrying perhaps from 300 to 400 men, amonst whom were 30 or 40 disbanded Sepoys of the late local corps, clothed and accoutred like the Company's troops.

3. Mr. Peterson, the Provisioner, happened to be at Quedah at the time, purchasing bullocks &ca., and was an eye witness of the whole affair. He states that Kudin's flotilla approached in rapid pursuit of the Siamese boats which had been cruizing at the mouth of the river, and were abandoned without resistance. That on nearing the Fort, the Siamese discharged about 40 cannon shots from the fort guns without effect; that Kudin's party then made a vigorous attack, succeeded in setting fire to the combustible building inside the fort and took it by escalade, in the midst of the smoke and confusion.

4. The Siamese garrison, consisting of 200 men, after a very feeble defence, fled in the direction of Ligore, whither a detachment of Kudin's force have gone in pursuit. The King (who is the son of the Ligore Rajah) fled in the same direction on the night preceding the attack, and a vague rumour prevails that he has been overtaken and put to death.

5 It is further understood that a very considerable land force has been collected from our own territories; that it had occupied a position on the Siamese western frontier and from thence has proceeded against Ligore. In this body also, there are many disbanded Sepoys, wearing the Company's uniform. It was at first supposed that the land force was to cooperate with Kudin in the attack upon Quedah, but I incline to the belief that Ligore is its real destination.

6. On receiving the first intimation of these movements, which was on Saturday the 14th instant, I requested the Commanding Officer to throw over a strong party of Sepoys to occupy our North East frontier, in order to protect our own territory and to be prepared to act as circumstances might require. The Company's boats Emerald and Diamond were sent out to cruize in the vicinity of Quedah River and collect information, but Quedah had fallen before they reached their cruizing ground, and I have now employed them in watching our own coast in order to intercept plunder or the return into the Company's territories of those who have been engaged in the expedition.

7. I have confined my immediate view to the preservation of our own frontier and an endeavour to open a communication with Ligore, both by the direct overland route and by the way of Trang, but it is necessary to be prepared for future events and I therefore solicit your earliest attention to the predicament in which we are placed with relation to the Siamese by this most unfortunate affair.

8. By the Article of the Treaty of Bangkok it is stipulated that "the English shall not disturb nor attack Quedah, nor permit the former Governor or any of his followers to attack, disturb or injure in any manner the territory of Quedah, or any other territory subject to Siam." We must examine whether the

Treaty has been violated either in this particular article, or in its more extended signification.

9. It does not appear to me that the Ex King himself is implicated either directly or indirectly at present, at least, I have no direct evidence against him, and although his sons Abdullah and Din have undoubtedly been concerned in the plot, they have been arrested *before* they crossed the frontier and the letter of the 13th Article has so far been observed.

10. But it cannot be denied that the general spirit of our friendly relations with Siam has been violated on this occasion. English subjects both from Penang and Province Wellesley have joined the invading force, the arms and ammunition have probably been procured in our bazar, the boats have cleared out from our own port and bear the passes usually granted to boats of their ostensible character, and we neither interfered to prevent the attack nor gave our allies timely notice of its approach. On these grounds [it appears] to me that we are bound to offer such reparation as we now can for the injury we have (though unintentionally) permitted, and join the Siamese in active cooperation if they require it. This line of conduct is further recommended by the obvious anxiety of the Supreme Government to preserve our friendly relations with Siam, and it is evident that the suspicion of bad faith which now attaches to us can only be removed by decided and unequivocal measures.

11. The hostile armament has been furnished from various sources comprehending several of the petty Malayan States in our vicinity, who feel a deep interest in the overthrow of the Siamese power at Quedah and the restoration of a Malayan dynasty, but I consider such a combination to be quite unequal to a protracted struggle with a State so superior as Siam in energy and warlike resources, and policy seems to require our prompt co-operation with the Siamese both to secure

the ultimate tranquillity of the Peninsula and to maintain the friendly provisions of the Treaty of Bangkok.

12. The capture of Quedah must also be viewed in another point of view, divested of any connection with Siamese Politics as a piratical aggression, and particularly offensive to us from the manner in which the equipment has been furnished. Tuan Kechil, one of the leaders of the flotilla, and who was conspicuous in the attack (dressed in the uniform of a British officer), is a British subject born on this Island. He is now in custody in the Fort, having been arrested in the act of bringing plunder for sale in our bazar. Kudin is not a British born subject, but I imagine he and the rest of the insurgents who were engaged in the attack upon Quedah are all liable to be treated as freebooters.

13. Having submitted these points to your consideration I must now beg your attention to the predicament in which Tuanko Abdullah, son of the Ex King, and Pungooloo Joonoos are placed. Captain Low has reason to believe that Abdullah was about to cross our frontier to join the forces proceeding against Quedah and he arrested him within the Company's jurisdiction under circumstances that left no doubt of his intentions. Pungooloo Joonoos was apprehended under similar circumstances. They as well as Tuan Kechil are now confined in the Fort and I request your instructions in the event of the charges against them being fully substantiated.

14. As soon as the mass of contradictory evidence (or reports) can be sifted, I shall have the honor to lay before you a separate dispatch regarding the conduct both of the Ex King and his son Abdullah. I have already stated my impression of the King's innocence, but I shall watch his proceedings and shall not hesitate to put him under arrest if he makes any movement indicative of his being in league with Kudin's faction.

15. Before concluding this imperfect [account] I must advert to the want of timely intelligence through which most of the dilemma in which we are placed with the Siamese has arisen, and I beg to remark,

1st. That the preparations, though extensive, were carried on with much tact and secrecy.

2nd. The whole native community were favorable to a movement directed against the Siamese, whose cruelty and oppression at Quedah have excited universal odium. The Mahometan part of the population (Arab and Malayan in particular) were further influenced by feelings of religious animosity.

3rd. The Pungooloo Mookims at Province Wellesley, on whom Captain Low has greatly relied for information, joined the insurgents, and our Island Police are numerically weak and ill paid, and had no interest in betraying the party in whose favor their wishes, at least, were engaged, and

4th. We have neither guard boats nor establishments of any kind for keeping watch in the harbour and examining native craft. I now find that some of the European merchants were aware of the preparations, though possibly, not of their precise destinations, but whatever was the extent of their information, they did not disclose it to any Government Officer until the aggression had actually taken place.

I have &ca.

(Signed) K. Murchison
Deputy Resident.

Prince of Wales Island
the 25th April 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 29.

Fort William 3d June 1831.

No. 30.

To the Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the Honble. the Vice-President in Council, that a hasty private communication from Mr. Murchison, received yesterday, informs me of the capture of Quedah by a strong party of Malays, headed by the noted pirate Tuanko Kudin, and that report speaks of a still stronger force having actually proceeded overtowards Ligor itself, headed by Tuanko Long Pootee of Siak, and joined by the Ex-King's two sons Tuanko Din and Abdullah, also Tuanko Soliman, the Ex King's brother, who hitherto has continued to hold, under the Siamese, the same domain bordering on Province Wellesley that he did under his brother's government. I am further concerned to state that many of our own subjects, even some of the Panghooloo Mukims, or headmen of Province Wellesley, are also of this party, together with about thirty of the disbanded local corps who were dressed up in their old uniforms with the view no doubt of leading the Ex King's enemies to the supposition that he was assisted by the English Government.

The secrecy with which this expedition has been fitted out argues very forcibly the general interest in favor of its success. There never was a doubt but that every Malay State in the Peninsula of Malacca and East coast of Sumatra are more or less interested in the fate of the Ex King, and would always contribute to aid his restoration upon any certain prospect of success; but that not a single individual among the many hundreds of our own subjects who must have known of this intended expedition

should have come forward to give intelligence to the local authorities of what was going on appears the most surprizing, particularly when it is considered, that considerable numbers of Siamese may be reckoned among them. There is this certainly to be said, that any number of Malay boats might be collected in readiness for an expedition, upon the numerous creeks and rivers upon the coast, beyond our jurisdiction, without the slightest outward show of any preparation, and a land force in like manner where the country is so thinly inhabited, might equally be collected with the same secrecy. Arms such as the people use are easily collected by degrees, and secreted in boats and other hiding places beyond the possibility of search, evidenced by the fact that not even the Siamese themselves had any intimation of what was about to happen until the enemy was at their gates.

To efface, as far I am immediately able to do, the very suspicious light in which this affair cannot fail to be viewed at the Court of Siam, I have addressed a letter, copy of which is enclosed, to the King's Minister: And with reference to the late correspondence regarding the removal of the Ex King to Malacca, I shall at once proceed to Prince of Wales Island for the purpose of carrying that measure into effect, for although Mr. Murchison appears to think him perfectly innocent of actual concernment in this attack, there is not a shadow of doubt upon my mind, but that he has aided and abetted it by every means in his power, except being personally present.

As for our own subjects who have taken the serious and responsible part of injuring the state of our alliant, I shall imprison them wherever they are to be found, to be dealt with hereafter, and act generally in such a manner as to evince to the Siamese,

our respect for Treaties, and extreme disapprobation of what has happened.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson

Resident at Singapore.

Singapore

Resident's Office

3d May 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 29.

Fort William 3d June 1831.

No. 31.

To His Excellency The Chao Pia Prah Klang
Chao Kun Kosa &ca. &ca.

I am seriously concerned to communicate to your Excellency for the information of His Majesty the King of Siam, that intelligence has this day reached me of a considerable force, headed by the noted pirate Tunkoo Kudin, having attacked Quedah by surprize on the 18th ultimo, and succeeded in taking it. There exists, at present, I am sorry to say, but little doubt on my own mind of the Ex King having been materially concerned in supporting this attack, although he positively denies the fact, and is at present residing apparently in quiet at Prince of Wales Island. I am further privately informed that many of the invading party were equipped like English sepoys, of course purposely, with the view of leading to the supposition that the attack was countenanced and assisted by the English.

To efface this impression in particular, I have considered it my duty as well as inclination, thus hastily to explain the nature of my own feelings upon this unforeseen event, and to assure His Majesty, that had timely intimation reached me of this intended piece of treachery, it should have been forcibly prevented. I ought to have explained to your Excellency that the charge of this Settlement, as well as those of Prince of Wales Island and Malacca, are now confided to my management by the Right Honble. the Governor General of India and that in consequence I am immediately about to proceed to Prince of Wales Island for the purpose of preventing any further violation of the existing Treaty between our respective Governments and to enforce obedience where I perceive it likely to be evaded, and I have to solicit you will assure His Majesty that no trouble or expense on my part

shall be spared, in bringing to punishment any subject of ours, or individuals residing under the protection of the English Government, who shall be found guilty of having engaged in this flagrant attempt to disturb the peace and harmony of our respective Governments. I am not yet informed of the exact force which has thus seized upon Quedah in the manner above described, although I feel confident from the necessarily mixed and discordant nature of its members that it cannot long retain possession; of this, however, I desire to assure your Excellency, that the assistance of the English Government shall at all times be available to cooperate with the forces of His Majesty in its recapture, whenever I am informed of His Majesty's intentions upon that point. A man known by the title of Tuan Kechil, also Tuanko Abdullah and Janoos, have already been apprehended and remain in confinement at Prince of Wales Island, and I have given strict orders for the arrest of all others found under similar suspicions. I write this in extreme haste to assure your Excellency of the continued friendship and good will of the English Government and in the earnest hope of soon receiving in return the sentiments of His Majesty.

Dated Singapore, this 3d day of May 1831.

True Copy
(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident at Singapore.

(Public Record Office.)
Admiralty 1/203.
Admirals' Dispatches.

Extract from a letter dated Penang 11 May 1831.

"The Malays, worn out with the cruelties of the Siamese, have risen upon them, driven the whole Siamese force away from Quedah and both parties are busily employed in cutting each others throats as fast as they can. We are however perfectly quiet here and likely to remain so, unless the Bengal Government will assist the Siamese in regaining possession of the neighbouring country, which by a Treaty the British have bound themselves to do when in hopes of creating a diversion in our favour during the late operations against Ava. But I rather think Lord William Bentinck will pay them off in their own coin, as all their assistance consisted in promises which were never kept, as not one Siamese made his appearance in the Burman territories during the whole war. Our supplies come in as usual and the intercourse is kept up as far as regards the trading community. Rice fortunately for the poor inhabitants is abundant and cheap. The Malays deserved great credit for the manner in which they carried the fort, which is a regularly built one of brick and of greater extent than our own, with a deep ditch round three parts of it. The secret was so well kept that all the inhabitants of the opposite coast started together, under a Malay Chief who had collected a great many of the disbanded sepoys of our former local corps, for whom fresh regimentals had been made up, agreeable to their old patterns, with one young man dressed as a British Officer. The distance hence is not more than fifty miles along shore. They got into the mouth of the river, on one side of which the fort is situated, at daybreak planted scaling ladders and mounted the walls, carrying everything before them—in half an hour they had full possession. We have the young man who headed the storming party here in safe

keeping, as it will be difficult, if not wholly impossible. to persuade such suspicious vagabonds as the Siamese that the whole were not Company's troops, headed by one of their officers."

(The above was enclosed in Rear Admiral Sir E. Owen's letter to the Admiralty, No. 203, 18 June 1831, in which he merely says of it—" The accompanying information, although not strictly official, is by a channel which leaves me no doubt of its authenticity.")

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

Fort William 22nd July 1831.

No. 44 Contd.

To the Deputy Resident.

Sir,

* *See ante,*

Your letter of the 25th ultimo* conveying intelligence of the capture of Quedah by a flotilla force under the command of Tuanku Kudin, reached me yesterday.

The precautions you have taken to secure the immediate tranquillity of our own territory appear in every way so perfectly judicious that I shall at once proceed to remark upon the other points brought to my notice, and requiring more immediate attention in the present interval of quiet, proceeding from the absence of any Siamese force in our immediate vicinity, and first with regard to subjects of the British Government, who have thus attacked and injured without authority another State in strict alliance with our own.

There cannot be a question, if the injury thus given had been sanctioned by the English Government, the Government so sanctioning it would have been guilty of the offence, and answerable accordingly to the Government of Siam, and it therefore behoves us, in proportion as we are anxious to avoid this imputation, to render to the State thus injured by our subjects every reparation in our power, and which can be done effectually only by punishing the offenders as far as the nature of the case admits. I am not prepared at the present moment to state what that may be, but in the interim feel no hesitation in desiring that individuals of this description, proved to have been in arms against the Siamese in the late capture of Quedah, be apprehended and confined if found within our territory. Under this view of the case, Tuan Kechil and

Joonoos will remain in custody pending further instruction, but as Abdullah was not actually found in arms, and further, is not a British subject, it is my intention to remove him hence with his father, until when it would not be safe to give him liberty, and he must therefore remain under present restraint.

With regard to Tuanku Kudin, whose addiction to piracy is so notorious, I would not hesitate if in my power, together with all other public robbers of his particular description and engaged in the present attack on Quedah, to deliver them up, if requested, to the justice of the Siamese, and you will accordingly have him apprehended with that view if he presumes to return within our territories; but I believe it is contrary to the Law of Nations to treat in the same manner any persons but such as by the frequency and heinousness of their crimes may justly be declared the enemies of the human race.

That the 13th Article of the Treaty with Bangkok has seriously been violated by these acts there cannot in my judgment be a doubt, although from the measures now in progress, aided by the precaution I took at Singapore of writing to the Minister of Siam, I trust the suspicions of that jealous Government will gradually subside, as the real truth becomes developed.

The Ex King has certainly evinced considerable tact in avoiding the appearance of open and direct control, but it is hardly to be supposed that he has really been ignorant of what was going on, and if not ignorant, that he could possibly have demeaned himself as a mere *passive* spectator of events. Indirectly therefore I consider him to have been the prime instigator of the attack; the leaders of the expedition are his near relations, they have lately been living in close communication with him, and in the seduction of the Pangholoos and people of Province

Wellesley I fear may also be traced the Ex King's object in residing there so long, and his late reluctance to quit that Province until all things were matured. Not the least remarkable feature in the case is his affected indifference as to the event which cannot possibly be natural.

Under these impressions, together with the conviction that tranquillity cannot otherwise be restored, I have resolved to enforce the orders of the Supreme Government for his removal to Malacca, or such other place of residence as he may choose to fix on, equally or further removed from the neighbourhood of the Siamese.

The second article of the Treaty provides that should any place or country subject to the English "do any thing that may offend the Siamese, the Siamese shall not go and injure such place and country, but first report the matter to the English who will examine into it with truth and sincerity, and if the fault be with the English [they] shall punish according to the fault." In this respect we have already anticipated what may be considered the wishes of the Siamese, and should they eventually require it on the terms of the Treaty, I quite concur with you that we should also yield them our active co-operation in the recovery of Quedah: Full justice would thus be rendered them and retaliation entirely prevented.

You have correctly stated in my opinion the principal causes which enabled the adherents of the Ex King to fit out their expedition with such tact and secrecy, but I place no faith in the assertion that any of the European merchants knew what was about to happen. When the reported force from "Patani and other Malay States" shall have failed, or effected their object, the same pretence to superior intelligence will again spring up, but at a moment, as in the former instance, when it is not worth notice. The most intelligent Chinese merchant in this settlement has lost

a considerable quantity of merchandize, seized at Quedah by Tuanku Kudin. This ignorance of passing events on his part, entirely rebuts the presumption in my opinion that any thing approaching to a precise information was in the least known generally on the Island.

Our present establishments were never intended for times like the present, but these will not continue long, and the removal of the Ex King in the course of this month will soon disconcert the measures of his supporters, and good order and quiet be gradually restored. Intelligence certainly is particularly required, and I need hardly suggest to you that able agents should at once be employed as a temporary measure, both here and at Province Wellesley.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Singapore.

Prince of Wales Island.
Resident's Office,
19th May 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

Fort William 22nd July 1831.

Copy of a letter from R. Ibbetson Esqre. to the Ex King of Quedah.

(After Compliments.)

My friend is desirous that I should put in writing the substance of what I have twice communicated to him in person Vizt. that the orders of the Supreme Government for his removal hence are imperative and must be carried into effect; I here quote for my friend's information the order in question.

"His Majesty having rejected the liberal terms which you were authorized by the letter of the 30th April last to propose to him, and it appearing that nothing short of compulsory means will effect his removal, the Governor General in Council now deems it essentially necessary to the preservation of tranquillity, that he should be removed by force if necessary, after once more declaring the positive orders of the Supreme Government for his immediate retirement to Malacca, or such other place of residence as he may choose to fix on, equally or farther removed from the neighbourhood of the Siamese."

Thus my friend will see that if to preserve peace and quiet with the Siamese at a time when peace and quiet actually prevailed, it was then considered necessary that my friend should remove to a great distance from the former, how completely those predictions are now verified by the late capture of Quedah by my friend's relations and adherents, and how much more urgent in consequence is the cause for his removal. Argument and persuasion have already been so frequently employed with my friend in vain, that it now falls to my duty reluctantly but distinctly to inform him that the latter must cease. On my way hither I have hired a house at Malacca for my friend, and I

have now also hired a ship to convey my friend with his family and followers either to that settlement, or any other place of residence my friend may select, "equally or farther removed from the neighbourhood of the Siamese." The stipend of 6,000 Dollars per annum will be paid to my friend so long as he remains at the place now fixed on for his future residence; but I must distinctly inform my friend that this will also be forfeited if he attempt to return to the vicinity of Quedah, or by any other act of* contempt and disobedience of the Governor General in Council.

* *sic.? show.*

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Singapore.

Dated 22nd. May 1831.

Bengal political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

Fort William 22nd July 1831.

No. 43.

Secret Department.

To the Chief Secretary to the Government
Fort William.

Sir,

* Copied from Bengal Political Cons. vol. 29.

With reference to my letter dated 3rd May last,* I have now the honor to transmit for the information of the Right Honorable the Vice President in Council copy of a correspondence* which has passed between the Deputy Resident of this Settlement and myself regarding the capture of Quedah and the removal of the Ex King to Malacca.

* See ante 25 April and 19 May.

The measures it became necessary to take to effect the latter object are explained in the enclosed copy of my correspondence with that Chief, and the third enclosure contains copies of reports from Captain Low which will be useful in elucidating the management and tact displayed by the King's adherents, and in assisting the judgment as to the degree of culpability attributable to the latter. I by no means however concur with Captain Low in the view he has drawn of the probably hasty proceedings of the Siamese Government regarding their subjugation of Perak and Salengore.

In the tumult which will follow the retaking of Quedah some trifling collisions may possibly occur upon our borders, but it is too obviously their interest and inclination to keep well with us, [and not] rashly to pursue a conduct diametrically opposed to it.

The Ex King sailed hence for Malacca on the 6th Instant, not without evincing to the last considerable opposition, which only ceased on a movement of the police accompanied by Military, which convinced him

that it would be useless and that my determination was fixed.

* * * * * *

I consider the removal of the Ex King hence to Malacca as an important epoch as regards the future tranquillity of this settlement, and effected as it has been without actual force, and at a time when those most prejudiced in his favour could not but admit the expediency of the measure, the opinion that it is a harsh one will gradually subside.

* * * * * *

It is not my intention to encumber myself beyond necessity by apprehending people indiscriminately who have been engaged in this attack on Quedah. One or two of the Punghaloos or other conspicuous characters, if possible those who have made off with muskets given them in charge for the protection of the Province, and who may legally in consequence be committed to stand their trial, will suffice as an example to lead others to consider the impropriety of their conduct, but it appears doubtful how far I should be warranted in confining subjects less equivocally situated, and I shall therefore be cautious how I interfere beyond what may be necessary for the due preservation of the peace.

I am daily in expectation of the arrival of the Siamese before Quedah, and I have stationed the schooner "Zephyr" and "Emerald" cutter off the Quedah and Mirabow Rivers to co-operate with them at sea. Their commanders have been directed to consider Kudin and Long Putee as pirates, and to treat them as such should they fall in with them at sea.

This co-operation, together with the removal of the Ex King to Malacca will sufficiently convince the Siamese of our honest participation in their success, and efface the unfavorable impression which late events cannot fail to have excited regarding our good faith.

I hope soon to inform you that quiet is again pretty generally restored, and so complete I think will be the success of the Siamese, that any further attempts of the Malays will not again be made, at least for a long period.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Singapore.

Prince of Wales Island,
Resident's Office,
the 8th of June 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 32.

Fort William 12th August 1831.

No. 53.

Translation of a letter from the Rajah of Ligore to Robert Ibbetson Esqr. Resident.

After Compliments.

I make my friend acquainted with the following circumstance. At the time Captain Henry Burney proceeded to the Siamese Country to make a Treaty at Pra Maha Nakon Sri Jutia (Siamese name of Bangkok) he took away the Treaty with him in order to get the seal of the Right Honble. the Governor General affixed to it, a copy of which he deposited with me, and I gave him a copy with the seal of the Siamese Emperor attached to be deposited in Bengal; and I have been informed that he left a translation of this in the English Language at Penang. Now in the 13th section of the Treaty it is mentioned that the English do not desire to take the Quedah country and that they will not foment or raise disturbances or insurrections against Quedah; that they will not allow the Ex King or his slaves or ryots to attack or raise disturbances at Quedah or any countries under the Siamese authority, and many other subjects are clearly laid down in the Treaty which Captain Henry Burney translated and left at Pulo Penang. My friend also has sent letters to Quedah stating that the English have great pleasure in ratifying the Treaty and would prevent the Ex King from attacking Quedah, and if he persisted in his attempts that he should suffer the punishment due from the English, and as my friend has sent a number of letters to this purport the Siamese have placed great confidence in them and acted according to my friend's suggestions. The Siamese have also fully performed all the articles of the Treaty. But now the Ex King, who resides in the English territories has prepared a number of prows for the

purpose of attacking Quedah and thereby broken the Treaty. As the Ex King has not obeyed the orders of the English, but has caused the Treaty to be trangressed, contrary to the orders of the English, I hope my friend will pursue such measures as in his opinion may be most proper. The Siamese have kept the whole Treaty. They dwelt in security meditating how the good understanding and friendship with the English might be continued, but as the Ex King has been the first to attack Quedah, contrary to the Treaty, the Siamese are now making preparation to enter Quedah, but without any intention of committing a single hostile act against the English. I hope therefore my friend will not be suspicious, and assist the officers of the Ex King who have acted contrary to the Treaty, and will send me a reply stating in what way the Ex King will be punished. I have fulfilled the Treaty and am anxious to increase and strengthen my friendship with the English, and am desirous that the countries of Quedah and Pulo Penang should be considered as one, so long as the heaven and earth are in existence, and that there may be no end to the great friendship between the two countries, so that, if Pulo Penang stands in need of assistance from the Siamese it may be granted, and if, on the contrary, Quedah stands in need of assistance the English may give it in a friendly way as is proper.

I have sent an Envoy with goods from the Siamese country as a present for the Governor General of Bengal, through the Martaban country, and have requested Mr. Maingy to give him every assistance in his power so that he may arrive in safety in Bengal, as I am desirous of encreasing and strengthening the good understanding and friendship. As the Malay scribe is not very well acquainted with his business, should there be any improper

expressions, I hope my friend will not on this account take offence.

Written on the 26th day of the 6th month 1246.

A true translation

(Signed) H. Nairne
Malay Translator.

This letter is written altogether in a very humble strain, quite different from his former communications.

(Signed) H. N.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 32.

Fort William 12th August 1831.

To the Raja of Ligor.

I have received my friend's letter dated wherein my friend correctly states the nature of the Treaty existing between the English and Siamese particularly that portion of it contained in the 13th Article and which my friend complains has been infringed by the act of the Ex King. My friend will be happy to learn that in consequence of my suspicions to that effect, and the continual trouble and disturbance occasioned by his followers and adherents, the Ex King has already been punished by removal to Malacca, much against his inclinations, and even under the most sacred protestations of his innocence, and it would therefore be a source of inward satisfaction to myself if my friend can really adduce undoubted evidence that "he has prepared a number of prows for the purpose of attacking Quedah" because such proof, particularly if confirmed by any letters of his own, would at once convince me of his want of faith, and prevent my placing the least reliance in his word. That the Ex King's friends and relations have attacked Quedah, contrary to the Treaty, I regret to say there cannot be a doubt; and my friend hopes "I will not be suspicious and assist the officers of the Ex King, who have acted contrary to the Treaty." My friend will see from what I have already done that suspicion dwells on the side of my friend only, for independent of having, as already stated, sent away the Ex King, I have also ordered boats and ships off the mouth of the Quedah and Mirabow Rivers, with the view of intercepting "Kudin" and "Long Puteh" should they run seaward from the forces of my friend, and if they venture into Province Wellesley they will also meet their fate. I feel that there is but one thing

now wanting to establish the future tranquillity between my friend and the English in this quarter, and that is the demarcation of the Province Wellesley from the territory of Tuanko Soliman, whose people, participating apparently in the fate of their former sovereign, seem to imagine they make acceptable offerings to his unsullied dignity by creating disturbances along our frontier, I fear encouraged by Tuanko Soliman, his brother, whose conduct lately has been very equivocal, arising no doubt from similar feelings.

My friend says " I have fulfilled the Treaty and a anxious to encrease and strengthen my friendship with the English." Now the 3rd Article of the Treaty provides for the definition of this boundary, although my friend has hitherto evaded any adjustment of so simple a measure. Let my friend and I then now go hand in hand in this affair, nothing will more effectually tend to the suppression of disturbances than well defined boundaries, because the evil disposed cannot then assemble in multitudes upon the borders of either party without one or the other being answerable for their conduct, whereas at present all is uncertain and in quelling disturbances there is constant litigation as to the territory in which it has arisen, instanced at the present moment with the people of Bukit Sambul, who call themselves the subjects of the Tuanko Soliman and the friends of Tuanko Kudin, and where report says the latter intends to take refuge when driven from Quedah. I shall be happy to hear from my friend in reply to this letter, and in the mean time beg to assure him that he may implicitly rely upon me for giving effect to the stipulations of the Treaty existing between our respective Governments.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Rest. Singapore.

Dated 14th June 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 362.

Fort William 14th October 1831.

No. 24.

To the Resident of Singapore.

Sir,

I have deferred reporting to you officially upon the progress of events at Quedah, in the hope that each succeeding day would bring me tidings of the recapture of the Fort by the forces of the Ligore Rajah, but as so much time has already elapsed without producing any very decided proofs of the Ligorian's success, or of his ability to take the Fort by assault, I once more solicit from you distinct instructions for my guidance, in the event of the Rajah making formal application to me for direct and powerful co-operation, which I conclude he will soon do, and would have done at an earlier period had not his pride checked such an admission of his own weakness. Indeed, he has already made application to me for co-operation to a certain extent, for Tuanko Solyman having at length unequivocally joined Kudin with a force of 600 or 800 men, the Ligorian has urged me to occupy Solyman's territory contiguous to our own. But this I shall decline, because after the fall of Quedah, Solyman's lands will come quietly within the scope of our territorial arrangements with the Ligore Rajah, and it would be premature and an unnecessary exposure of the Company's troops to take and maintain possession of a post easily assailed by the Quedah forces under present circumstances.

In your early letters you certainly recognized the principle that we were bound to co-operate in the recapture of Quedah if the Ligore Rajah required it, but in reply to my letter on the occasion of your departure from Penang, requesting you to give me distinct instructions how to act in the event of our

co-operation being formally solicited, you merely said that large or expensive measures would be unnecessary, and thus I am left to act upon somewhat conflicting instructions. Should any pressing emergency occur, I must act according to the best of my judgment, on the general principle you originally laid down, but I consider such an occurrence as improbable, and that you will have time to send me your orders before any decided movements are required. I beg then to ask you if I am to comply with the requisition of the Ligore Rajah for Sepoys and Artillery to act decisively against the Fort under the Direction of British officers.

His Majesty's Ship Wolfe and the Emerald have been blockading the Quedah River ever since your departure, but I apprehend that Captain Hamley's other duties will not allow him to remain there much longer, and on his departure Kudin will get ample reinforcements from the Lankavies and other places, and will certainly be able to destroy the Ligorian's flotilla.

Just before the Wolfe resumed her station Kudin's prows attacked the Siamese boats and gained some advantages over them, and had not the frigate bore down the advantage would have been more decided. Captain Hamley has performed another service of some importance by dispersing a considerable flotilla from the Lankavies with reinforcements for Kudin. In all my letters to the Ligorian I have strongly urged the necessity of expediting his attack upon the Fort, pointing out also that the Wolfe could not continue the blockade much longer, but I begin to doubt his ability to take the fort by assault, and the question seems to be whether we are to take it for him, or allow the insurrection, with all its evil consequences to our own subjects, to go on for an indefinite period.

I earnestly request you to give me a distinct reply for I am unwilling to act upon my own responsibility in a matter which ought to to be regulated by your orders.

I am &ca.

(Signed) K. Murchison
Deputy Resident.

Prince of Wales Island
The 1st of August 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 382.

Fort William 2d September 1831.

No. 4.

To the Chief Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

Copied from Home Series, Misc. Vol. 677.

In my letter to your address of the 3d February last* I reported my intention of renewing my efforts to release from slavery the 300 Taliens whom I had ascertained to be in captivity at Zemmai and Laboung. I now have the honor to state, for the information of the Honorable the Vice President in Council, that the result of my endeavours have been attended with complete Success, and I may with safety assert that the fulfilment of no part of my duty as a public servant has ever brought with it so much pleasure.

2. Having succeeded in obtaining a list of the names of the persons whom I considered I could with any degree of justice claim as British subjects, I determined in February last to depute an Agent to the Minister of the King of Siam, to explain to them the ground on which my claim was founded; also to obtain from them, if possible, an order from the King of Siam to the Chiefs of Northern Laos for the unconditional release of such of the captives as were desirous to return to this Province.

3. I selected as my agent to Bangkok the late Myo Thoogee of Shwai Gyeen, the Chief of our Talien inhabitants at Maulmain, and one of the most intelligent and gentlemanlike natives I have ever met with. A translation of the notes kept by him during his absence from Maulmain is herewith forwarded.

4. Nothing could have been more friendly than the disposition shewn by the King of Siam in the discussions between his Ministers and the Shwai Gyeen

Myo Thoogyee, by whom I am assured that his detention at Bangkok would not have exceeded ten or fifteen days had it not been for the violent opposition made by the Wangna, or Second King, to the orders issued authorizing the appointment of a Siamese officer to accompany the Shwai Gyeen Myo Thoogyee to Laboung and Zemmai for the purpose of ascertaining the justice or otherwise of the claim made by me.

5. As might have been expected every effort was made by the Chiefs of Northern Laos to defeat the object of the Shwai Gyeen Myo Thoogyee's visit to them but they had opposed to them a clever and shrewd native, whose information regarding the disposal of the slaves was correct, and who also had the advantage of being personally acquainted with many of them. It was therefore difficult to deceive him, and the whole of his conduct is marked with so much decision and judgment that the Chief of Laos actually became alarmed and restored to him, in addition to the captives originally claimed, 29 inhabitants of this Province who had been seized on our frontier by the Red Karians and sold by them at Zemmai and Laboung.

6. I have distributed food and clothing to the 219 captives who have lately arrived at Moulmain. It is my intention to settle them on the banks of the Salvein River as wood cutters, and I entertain no doubt of the return to this Province during the next North East Monsoon of the 75 persons who were unable to accompany the Shwai Gyeen Myo Thoogyee.

* * * * * *

I have &ca.

(Signed) A. D. Maingy
Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces.

Maulmain
The 3rd August 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 362.

Fort William 2nd September 1831.

No. 5.

Translation of a Journal kept by the Shwai Gyeen Myo Thoogyee on the occasion of his being deputed by the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces to Bangkok for the purpose of getting released from slavery a number of Taliens said to be held in captivity by the Chiefs of Zemmai, Laboung and Layoung.

1831

Tuesday 8th Feby Having made the necessary preparations for my journey and received instructions from the Commissioner I quitted Moulmain at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and arriving at the village of Nantay about sunset I put up there for the night.

Wednesday 9th Having obtained boats at Nantay I proceeded up the Altaran river, and at night put up at the village of Altaran.

10th February Encamped in ascending the Altaran river. Met with several parties of wood cutters. At night slept in the jungle.

11th & 12th Feby. Continued to ascend the Altaran river.

13th Dismissed our boats and commenced our journey towards the three Pagodas. During the last three days we have seen large parties of wood cutters employed in felling some very fine teak.

14th 15th & 16th Travelled through extensive teak forests, the timber extremely fine, but at a great distance from any river, and therefore difficult to be removed.

17th Passed the three Pagodas and slept on the banks of the Thoungala, a river in the Siamese territory which falls into the Kamboori river.

18th Left the Thoungala river and crossed the river. This river takes its rise about five days journey from Tavoy and also falls into the Kam-

boori river. It is narrow and very winding. At night slept at Kahdyne tshein, Siamese post containing a few houses and about one hundred men. There met with a great many Kariens engaged in the cultivation of cotton. I was detained at this place until the morning of the 23d instant, but not prevented from moving about. I was detained under the pretence that no boats could be procured for myself and my party. I was however aware that my movements were purposely retarded in order that my arrival might be announced at Kamboori.

23d February Reached Beelut, another Siamese post of 100 men armed with muskets. I was again detained at this post for three days in spite of all my endeavours to get away, and I believe that excuses would have been made to keep me at Beelut some days longer had I not threatened to get the Chief of the post punished.

26th do. I slept at Dan Kaboh, another Siamese post of 20 men.

27th do. I slept at Dan yeik another post of 20 men.

28th do. I slept at Datlayo another post of 20 men.

March 1st Arrived Moung Thein and was detained there for ten days in order that my arrival might be announced at Bangkok. I remonstrated violently against this unnecessary detention, but I could not persuade the Chief of Moung Thein to allow me to move until he received orders from Bangkok permitting me to proceed [to] Kamboori. I met at this place a son of Maha Ayothias. He was there with 200 men for the purpose of collecting sapan wood for the King of Siam. Each man was expected to collect 150 Viss of sapan wood.

The sapan wood forests in this quarter are said [*not*] to be very extensive. I was told that not less than 3000 men are annually employed in cutting sapan wood for the King of Siam without

receiving pay for their services. The most of these men are said to be employed in the direction of the Tenasserim sapan forests. Since my quitting the Three Pagodas I have met with no teak forests. Within the last few days I have seen a great many Careens conveying cotton on small bamboo rafts to Bangkok.

11th March I was permitted to proceed. We were in our boats for two days and two nights.

13th do. Reached Kamboori, which is surrounded with a stockade and contains about 300 houses. There are 20 old guns in this village. Paddy is cultivated here, the first I have seen since my departure from Maulmain.

14th do. Reached Bammay, a large village and surrounded with good gardens. Tobacco appears to be cultivated in large quantities.

15th do. Reached Bampan, a village containing about 40 houses.

16th do. Reached Phee-ap, another large village containing 300 houses and surrounded with a wooden stockade. I saw a great deal of cultivation and many large gardens The Siamese appear to take great pains with their tobacco.

17th do. Quitted the Menee River and crossed a small lake leading to the Mai Tshan Rizer. At the entrance of the Mai Tshan River there is a battery of fifteen guns. This battery is about a dain (two miles) from the sea. Another dain beyond this battery there is a village containing 50 houses, and two dains beyond the village to the capital. The banks of the river are covered with houses and fruit trees.

On the 19th we reached the Capital and at about 10 in the morning the Chief of Kamboori and Maha Ayothia's writer took me to a house allotted for myself and my followers. The house in question belongs to a son of Maha Ayuthia's

and is distant from Maha Ayothia's house about twenty yards. The house is large and spacious and had not been previously occupied.

On the 22nd Maha Ayothia's writer came and called me requesting me to go to Maha Ayothia's house. The writer informed me that the King had sent one of his Woongyees to Maha Ayothia's house for the purpose of ascertaining the object of my mission. On my arrival at Maha Ayothia's house I explained to the Woongyee the object of my being deputed to Bangkok, and I then delivered to Maha Ayothia the letter addressed to him by the Commissioner, after which a good deal of general conversation followed regarding the health of the commissioner, the number of houses and inhabitants at Maulmain, the number of troops and the terms of friendship existing between the English and Burmese. Being asked by the Woongyee whether I had any letters from the Commissioner to the Woongyees I replied that I had; upon which the Minister requested me to deliver the letter to him, in order that it might be read before the King. The Woongyee having received the Commissioner's letter quitted me and I returned to my own house. In the afternoon, seeing the Woongyee returning from the Palace to Maha Ayothia's house, I went to him and enquired what had taken place at the Palace. He told me that the Commissioner's letter had been read in the presence of the King and the Ministers, and that on hearing its contents the King had observed that he had no wish to detain any British subjects but on the contrary he was desirous that they should not be allowed to communicate or intermix with his subjects, and added he would at once give an order to have the Commissioner's claim enquired into, and that if any British subjects should be found residing as slaves with the Chiefs of Northern Laos, that they should be restored and delivered over to the Commissioner's Agent. I was also told that the Ministers

would fix a day for receiving me and hearing what I might have to state.

March 23d & 24th Nothing particular occurred. I saw Maha Ayothia, whose conversation had reference to the power and strength of the English and to their system of Government. He after expressed a wish to live under British rule, but observed that he must die in Siam as the King of Siam would never allow him to quit his dominions. Some of my followers met with their relations who had 18 or 20 years ago fled to Siam. These men had an opportunity of visiting the different batteries on the banks of the river, and stated that they contained about 170 guns and 200 Suijals. They also stated that a large iron chain was moored across the river in order to prevent shipping from passing the batteries.

March 25th Maha Ayothia's writer told me that the Ministers had assembled at the Palace and requested my attendance. I reached the Palace at 11 o'clock and there met the Chief Woongyee and Mengyee Maha Ayothia, besides Woongyee Chakree and Prah Narine. A Talien of the name of Memig Ba acted as Interpreter. The usual questions were then put to me regarding the health of the commissioner and state of the country. I was also questioned respecting the situation held by me. The Chief Woongyee then observed that Mya Pien and Nga Chau, the two head men alluded to in the Commissioner's letter, could not be British subjects, as they and their relations have been subjects of the King of Siam since the days of the King who owned the first white elephant, and that he had been assured of this by the Chiefs of Northern Laos, and further that Nga Pein and Nga Chau had held appointments under and received letters from the King of Siam, and that consequently the English

could have no claim to them. I replied that the Chief Woongyee must have been deceived, and that I was prepared to prove that the Taliens in captivity at Zemmai and Laboung are British subjects and that they had been seized and sold as slaves after they had received a protecting pass from the great English General Sir A. Campbell, and that moreover such protecting pass port had been shown by Nga Pein and Nga Chau to the Chiefs of Zemmai and Laboung and that I had brought it with me in proof of my assertion. The Minister then observed that if what I had then said should prove to be correct, that the King of Siam had been deceived by the Chiefs of Northern Laos, and that as friendship and peace subsist between the Siamese and the English, that the Chiefs of Zemmai and Laboung should be ordered to deliver to me the captives enumerated in my list, provided they were willing and desirous of placing themselves under the Government of the English; and further that as the Commissioner had requested in his letter to the Woongyee that I might not be detained at Bangkok longer than was necessary, that people should be appointed to accompany me with order from the King to the Chiefs of Zemmai and Laboung to release all such persons as I could prove had been seized and carried into captivity after they had received a protecting pass from Sir A. Campbell. I then observed that there are several inhabitants, British subjects, with the Chiefs of Zemmai and Laboung, who were residents of Moulmain, and who had been seized and sold by the red Kurreens.

March 26th A dreadful fire broke out this day and consumed, it is said, 1000 houses. Several persons also lost their lives.

March 27th to April 22nd

I ascertained that the Wangna or Second King had addressed the King and opposed the release of the captives at Zemmai and Laboung, observing that the English never allowed the Siamese to remain quiet but are always making applications to them for the release of persons whom they claim as their subjects, and that always meeting with a ready compliance from the King of Siam to their demands, that they are never likely to be satisfied; therefore it would be better to check at once such demands, otherwise, of what avail are our fire arms and ammunition if we do not use them. Owing to the opposition made by the Wangna my departure was delayed. I received this information from Maha Ayothia and Pia Narine, who also stated that the King of Siam in reply to the Wangna had observed that he had no desire of going to war with the English, with whom he was living on terms of friendship, and that if he had enemies he would prefer conciliating them than having recourse to arms. My detention being longer than I anticipated, and seeing no preparations being made for my departure, I solicited the Chief Minister and Maha Ayothia to obtain leave for me to quit Bangkok and to be furnished with letters to the Chiefs of Zemmai and Laboung for the delivery of such slaves as I could prove to belong to the English. I also solicited that the Chief of Yahein, who was then at Bangkok, might be allowed to accompany me, and that to him authority might be delegated for ensuring the release of the slaves. I was informed that His Majesty objected to the Chief of Yahein being the person selected to accompany me to Zemmai and Laboung, lest on my arrival at those places I might experience difficulty, delay and evasion, in consequence of the Chief of Yahein being related to the Laos Chiefs, and that another Siamese officer should be appointed for that purpose. I was

afterwards [informed] that the Chief of Thampeing had been ordered by His Majesty to accompany me to Zemmai and Laboung, and that I should be allowed to quit Bangkok as soon as that Chief arrived there and had received his instructions. Within the last seven or eight days several alarming fires have broken out in this city and destroyed a great number of houses, amongst them the residence of the Wangna, it having been set on fire by lightning.

On the 22d April the Chief of Thampein having arrived at Bangkok and received his instructions, we left the city in boats and ascended the Maipieng River. Maha Ayothia sent seven of his own men to accompany me. In [the] evening we arrived at the village of Bantoon and slept there.

On the 23d passed Bantaphan, a village containing about 20 houses. The banks of the river between Bangkok and this village are well cultivated. Slept at Darawaddy, the former capital of Siam, and once in possession of the Burmese. It is now occupied by cultivators and contains about 500 houses.

April 25th Reached the village Thepak containing about 20 houses.

do. 26th Reached the village of Mong Ein containing about 50 houses.

do. 27th Reached the village of Kanoon and put up for the night at Khantawan, formerly a city but now containig no more than 100 houses. In the vicinity of the villages through which I have passed during the last 3 or 4 days I saw every where extensive paddy fields. The cultivation of tobacco appeared to be greatly attended to.

28th April Reached the village Odoon containing upwards of 100 houses.

29th April — Reached the village Thento, containing upwards of 20 houses. We passed this day through some teak forests.

30th do. — Reached the town of Meing then Eit containing upwards of 300 houses

May 1st 2nd & 3rd — We passed through to the villages of Banphan containing 50 houses; also Bankoon containg 20 houses. On the 4th arrived at Thampein, the Chief of which place having been ordered to accompany me, we were here delayed for two days to enable him to collect men to accompany us. This town contains from 150 to 200 houses. On the 5th of May we left Thampein and travelled through some fine teak forests.

May 6th — We reached Yahein and remained there until the morning of the 9th. This town contains about 500 houses. Its inhabitants are principally employed as wood cutters, and I met with at Yahein some of the finest specimens of teak timber I have ever yet seen. There is an excellent bazar at Yahein, much visited by the inhabitants of Laboung and Zemmai, who come to it for the purpose of purchasing foreign articles brought from Bangkok. I may here observe that the owner of almost every house in Yahein is possessed of an elephant. These useful animals are principally employed in moving timber. I saw no stick lac here.

On the 9th we quitted our boats and proceeded on elephants. On the 10th we arrived at Bandat and slept there. There are about 50 houses in this village.

11th May — Travelled through a forest containing oil trees and slept in it during the night.

12th do. — We crossed the Nawayong Creek and reached the village Baynapike containing about 20 houses. The inhabitants of the village are wood cutters and are possessed of some good cattle besides elephants.

13th May We reached Meinthein, a town containing 400 houses. The Chief of Meinthein is independent inasmuch as that he is merely tributary to Siam and not under the Chiefs of Zemmai, Laboung or Yahein. A large quantity of teak is taken to Bangkok from Meinthein. We remained here for three days owing to our requiring more elephants.

16th do. We proceeded on our journey with 20 elephants and on the 17th arrived at Baynanyeen, a village containing 20 houses.

18th do. Slept at the village of Banthanckein containing about 30 houses. I here for the first time met with stick-lac. The lac was seen on most of the trees belonging to the villagers.

19th do. Arrived at the town of Lagoon containing 2000 houses. The town is divided into three distinct divisions, each division being surrounded by a wall. Two divisions on the right bank of the river, and one division on the left. I remained here for six days, in order that the heads of the neighbouring villages might be collected for the purpose of accompanying me to Laboung. I received great kindness from the Chief of Lagoon and met with a few Kukas, inhabitants of Moulmain, trading here. Cattle was extremely abundant and could be purchased at 5 and 6 rupees a head. Several Chinese were also trading here. The bazar was well supplied, and I have no doubt but that a lucrative trade might hereafter be carried on between the inhabitants of Moulmain and those of Lagoon.

26th 27th & 28th May Continued our journey through the jungle.

29th do. We reached Laboung. During the last four days we have passed through some very fine forests containing principally teak. We found on our arrival at Laboung a shed constructed for us without the town, where I was allowed to remain

for 8 days. During this time I was inactive, but was employed in collecting information regarding the persons whom I came to claim and finding out who possessed them.

June 2nd The Chief of Thampein requested me to attend at the Palace, where I met the Chiefs and all the principal officers of the cities of Lagoon, Laboung and Zemmai, and also the son of the Chief of Beeay (the town of Beeay is situated S. East of Lagoon, distant seven days' journey). The son of the Chief of Beeay had with him a party of 500 armed men. I was first asked by the Chief of Laboung the usual questions regarding the health of the Commissioner, and was then called upon to give an account of my journey from Maulmain to Bangkok, the period of my stay there and the nature of the reception which I received from the Ministers of Siam. Several questions were also put to me regarding Maulmain and the strength and power of the English, and I was finally asked the object of my visit to Laboung. I then explained to the Chief of Laboung what had brought me to his country and informed him that it was in support of the claim which had already been made to him by the Commissioner for the release of the British subjects which he and the neighbouring Chiefs retained in captivity, as slaves. That a list specifying the names of the persons detained by him had already been sent to him by the Commissioner but that the Commissioner's demand not having been attended to I had been deputed to the Court of Bangkok for the purpose of obtaining an order from the King of Siam to the Chiefs of Laos for the immediate delivery of the British subjects detained by them, and that being furnished with an order from the King of Siam I had come to claim [its fulfilment]. On receiving this information the Chiefs retired.

On the 5th the Chiefs having again met I was sent for and was requested to bring with me Naga Chau and Naga Pein, both of whom had accompanied me from Maulmain, both of whom had escaped from Laboung These men were questioned by the Chiefs regarding the period of their residence at Laboung, and whether they had not received Siamese letters. I observed that such sorts of questions would only lead to unnecessary discussion, that the Chiefs of Laboung and Zemmai are well aware how they obtained these men, and that Naga Pein, when first brought in captivity to Laboung produced the protecting pass, which he had received from Sir A. Campbell. After a considerable deal [of] unpleasant discussion, [I] called upon the Chiefs to state whether they intended to abide by the orders of the King of Siam delivered to them by the Chief of Thumpein. The Chiefs after consulting together for some time consented to my questioning the captives. The list containing their names was now produced, and the name [of the] first person mentioned in it was called and [he was] questioned regarding his inclination to return to Maulmain or remain at Laboung. To which he replied that he was unwilling to quit Laboung. I at once discovered that another person had been substituted for the person I claimed, and on my exposing their attempt to deceive me, I was assured that the man mentioned in the list was dead. A similar attempt was made to deceive me when the second person was called in and examined, on which I distinctly told the Chiefs that unless they dealt fairly with me that I should at once [return] to Maulmain. At this moment one of my followers informed me that the person first claimed and said to be dead, was at my house, and had come to me to seek protec-

tion. On his being brought before the Chiefs they pretended that he went by another name amongst them. I now asked the Chiefs if they were not ashamed of themselves, and repeated my determination to quit them unless they attended to my demand. I further pointed out to them how seriously they might suffer by disobeying the orders of the King of Siam, and I called upon the Chief of Thampien to carry into effect the instructions he had received at Bangkok, apprising the Chiefs of Zemmai and Laboung that I had the names of several of the inhabitants of Maulmain who had recently been purchased by them, and that unless those persons as well as the Taliens, for the release of whom I had brought an order, were immediately given up to me, I was convinced the English Chief would consider their conduct as most unfriendly and that the peace and good will subsisting between the Maulmain Chief and the Chiefs of Northern Laos would be interrupted. This threat appeared to alarm them, it being at once determined by them that every man named in [the] list should be called up and examined. The examination lasted for 9 days and every difficulty was secretly opposed to my recovering the captives. Many of them received large bribes to remain [in] Zemmai and Laboung The list with which I was furnished contained the names of 298 persons. Of these 18 were dead, 25 had been persuaded by bribes under promises of obtaining situations not to return to Maulmain, and 25 of the men claimed by me were at Mein-Woohgyee, An order for their release was however made out and an assurance given that their departure should not be questioned or disturbed. On collecting the captives whose release I had obtained, I found them to amount to 210, so that I had actually succeeded in obtaining the emancipation of 30 persons beyond the number included in my list. I regret

to state in the course of my enquiries I ascertained that there yet remain in captivity with the Chiefs of Northern Laos between 4 and 500 inhabitants of the Province of Amherst who have been seized and sold as slaves at Zemmai and Laboung since the capture of Martaban by the English. The Chiefs of Zemmai and Laboung were extremely desirous that I should furnish them with a receipt for all the persons delivered over by them to me, but this I refused granting until they consented to furnish me with 20 elephants for the conveyance of our provisions as far as our boundary river of Thoung Ein. After having made every arrangements for my departure a claim was started by the Chief of Laboung for the cost of the grain which the slaves had consumed during their captivity, and also for the hire of ploughs and buffaloes which had been lent to them. I ridiculed this claim and asked the person who was sent to make it if his master, who called himself a Prince, was not ashamed of himself in making so unjust a demand. My observation was considered by the Chief of Laboung as insolent, but the Chief of Lagoon espoused my cause and observed that so far from being insolent I had displayed a great deal of good sense and argued rightly against the demand made by the Chief of Laboung.

June 19th Having made every arrangement for my departure I proceeded to the village of Duongto, where I remained for two days in collecting the captives; on my again examining these people I found several of them too unwell to follow me, no less than 50 being laid up and unequal to undertake so long a journey during the S. West Monsoon. Having appointed two natives of Bengal, Jummun and Summud Ally, in charge of these people, I left this village on the 21st

June, bringing with me 210 persons released from captivity.

22nd June We arrived at the village of Mein hoot containing 50 houses. Here we remained for four days procuring elephants. From the 26th June to the 10th July we were journeying through the jungle and had many difficulties to encounter on account of the heavy rains and the delay in crossing the river. On the 3rd [the] men in charge of the elephants refused to proceed any further and nothing but threats and having a very strong party with me induced them to proceed. Had I not had recourse to measures of violence towards the people in charge of the elephants, a great number of my followers must unavoidably have perished. On the 10th we reached the Thoung Ein, the boundary river, and here most fortunately met with Binya Rajah the brother in law of the Chief of Zemmai whose title is Chokara Maha Woon. From this person I received two baskets of rice and he further assisted me with 3 elephants, agreeing to accompany me as far as Maulmain. For the use of his elephants and the rice which he had supplied I could not persuade him to receive any remuneration. I suspect that Chokara Maha Woon had been sent by the Chiefs of Zemmai and Laboung to the boundary river for the purpose of preventing my taking with me any of the Kariens who might be anxious to place themselves under British rule. The want of boats occasioned my delay for three days in crossing the boundary river. On our arrival at Wen weet we obtained 8 baskets of rice from a Karreen Sokay, for which I gave him a receipt. On the 13th 14th and 15th we continued our journey, and always managed at night to put up at Karien villages. From each of the Karien villages we procured some rice, and for which

receipts were granted. On the morning of the 16th I left my followers at Lyne Boon, a Karien village, and getting into a small boat, I descended the Saluen river and reached Maulmain on the 20th.

A true Translation

(Signed) A. D. Maingy
Commissioner in the Tenasserim,
Provinces.

Maulmain
The 3d August 1831.

Bengal Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 33.

Fort William 9th September 1831.

No. 2.

To the Resident at Singapore.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to the address of Mr. Chief Secretary Swinton No. 2 dated 8th June last,* with its enclosures. and in reply to convey to you the Governor General's entire approbation of the measures taken by you to effect the removal of the Ex Raja of Queda from Penang to Malacca, and to express his Lordship's satisfaction at the final accomplishment of this desirable object.

* Copied from Political Consultations, Range 126, vol. 31.

2. With respect to the proceedings of the adherents of the Ex Raja, who, fitting out their expedition from Penang, have succeeded in capturing Quedah from the Siamese, and for the expulsion of whom measures are now taken under the direction, it is stated, of the Chief of Ligor, the Governor General cannot avoid expressing his regret that so little vigilance was exerted to prevent an occurrence of such ill aspect towards a nation connected with us by Treaty. The circumstances which gave encouragement to these adventurers, and enabled them to concert and prepare their measures are fully explained by Captain Low, but will never be comprehended by the Siamese, who, it may be expected, will look upon this buccaneering expedition as having been fitted out under the connivance, at least, of the British authorities at Prince of Wales Island. Sensible of the difficulty of the position in which you are placed by this untoward event, His Lordship is fully prepared to admit the expediency, if not the necessity of some steps on our part for the purpose of undeceiving the Siamese Chiefs as to the fact of our participation in the enterprise. The removal of the Ex Raja is of that description, and the prompt measures taken by you to effect it merits therefore the highest approbation, but the extent to which our co-operation should be given to the Siamese with the

same view for the recovery of Quedah is a question of considerable nicety, and as no obligation to the effect is incurred under any Treaty, His Lordship is inclined to think it may be the better policy to avoid any operations of a hostile character either by land or sea.

3. If those concerned in the enterprise against Quedah return for refuge or asylum into the British territory they must be seized and punished for the offence under the Proclamation issued, but there can be no reason to prevent their taking refuge elsewhere, if they do so peaceably. The insurgents are certainly entitled to expect of us neutrality, but His Lordship would confine the measures of a hostile character, if any be taken against them, to the prevention of further assistance of men or arms joining them from Penang or Province Wellesley. Except in so far as may be required for this specific purpose, His Lordship doubts if it can be necessary to maintain a strict blockade of the mouth of the river on which Quedah is situated, but he concludes that you will see the expediency of avoiding at any rate joining the Siamese in operations by land.

4. A copy of your letter and of this reply and likewise of the reports of Captain Low, explaining the origin of the expedition against Quedah will be communicated for the information of His Excellency the Naval commander in chief, a detachment from whose squadron will be in the Strait, available for any service that may be required by circumstances. You will of course communicate fully and unreservedly with the Commanders of His Majesty's vessels that may be on duty in those seas.

I have etc.,

(Signed) H. T. Prinsep,
Secry. to the Govr. Genl.

Simla
15 August 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 362.

Fort William 14th October 1831.

No. 22.

To the Chief Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

Contrary to the expectations expressed in my dispatch of the 8 June last No. 2,* the disturbances at Quedah still continue active as ever, and without decided co-operation from us in favor of the Siamese, the success of that power I fear appears doubtful. So long as other expectations were entertained, I considered that temporizing measures such as the partial blockade of that river, with the view of preventing as far as possible the further ingress of our own subjects to their assistance, and the removal of the Ex King, by further establishing their confidence in us, would have sufficiently encouraged the Siamese to effect the rest with vigour. But this now appears extremely problematical, and a question arises whether, by not more strenuously endeavouring to prevent the former Governor of Quedah, or any of his followers from attacking, disturbing or injuring in any manner the territory of Quedah, the spirit of that Treaty is not broken.

* not traced.

With reference to this point I have the honor to transmit for the purpose of being laid before the Honble. the Vice President in Council copies of two letters noted in the margin, and further to state that [in] an interview a few days back with Mr. Hunter (a gentleman long resident at Bangkok and frequently noticed in the correspondence of Messrs. Crawfurd and Burney), who was present at the reading of my letter to the Minister, I received the most gratifying account of the satisfaction which it produced, established by the fact that His Majesty, in consequence of it, instantly created him (Mr. Hunter) a Grandee of the Realm.

From the Minister of Siam dated * in reply to mine of the 8 May 1831.
From Mr. Murchison dated 1 August 1831.

Blank in original. See infra for these letters.

After the many friendly protestations on our part, should the Siamese now have cause to suspect us even of indifference from the passiveness of our acts, and find, from the want of our co-operation, that they have more to contend with than, single-handed, they are able to effect, they may still arrange some compromise with Soliman and Tuanko Kudin, leaving us to get on as we best may, having by our acts fully established the ill-will and hatred of both parties. The consequence of such a proceeding would be the desertion of our population at Province Wellesley and insult and robbery from all around us, whenever opportunity and motives of revenge prompted them to annoy us. But on the other hand it may be also argued, what right have we to assume an interference in the Government of a nation, the people of which are able to set themselves at liberty from the authority of an usurper. The Treaty of Bangkok is not an offensive and defensive one, nor is the point at which we should desist from aiding the latter at all defined. Ineffectual efforts have been made to assist them, but when these are to cease becomes the question.

I shall as soon as possible repair to Prince of Wales Island, and be ready to act as circumstances and mature reflection dictate but the dilemma is perplexing, and one upon which I would fain have had the instructions of Government.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Singapore.

Malacca
Resident's Office
The 8th September 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 362.

Fort William 14th October 1831.

No. 22 Contd.

Translation of a letter from the Chou Pia Prah Klang, Minister of the King of Siam, to the Resident of Singapore.

In a letter which the Resident of Singapore has sent by a vessel belonging to a Chinese trader of the name of Eish it is stated, that on the 18th of April 1831 a noted pirate called Tuanko Kudin at the head of a worthless gang attacked and took Quedah and that it was the opinion of the Resident that this was done with the knowledge and concurrence of the Ex Rajah of Quedah, who some time ago took refuge in Pulo Penang, although he denies it, and is apparently residing quietly at the latter place. Some of the people who invaded Quedah were equipped like English soldiers, with the view of inducing the belief that the attack was countenanced by the English, whereas they knew nothing about it. On the contrary, that had it come to the knowledge of the Resident of Singapore, that he would have immediately prevented it, for he is desirous of observing the relations of friendship and alliance with Siam, and was on the point of setting out for Penang in order to seize any persons infringing the Treaty between the two nations. Three individuals named Tuanko Bakie (suppose Kechil) Tuanko Abdullah and Yanoos had been arrested and confined at Penang, and all others concerned in the plot were ordered to be seized. The Resident of Singapore is of opinion that owing to the discontented nature of the people engaged in this affair that there is a want of unanimity and that they are not likely to agree amongst themselves for any length of time. On the part of the English, that

there was every desire to assist the Siamese nation and uphold the existing Treaty of friendship.

That the Governor of Bengal had entrusted the Government of Penang and Malacca to the Resident of Singapore. All these circumstances the Chou Pia Prah Klang has communicated to the King of Siam, and has received His Majesty's commands to reply that in sending so clear and satisfactory a letter, in arresting Tuanko Kudin (suppose Tuanko Kechil) Tuanko Addulluh and Yanoos, and giving orders for the seizure of all others concerned in the invasion of Quedah, all idea that the English had any participation in the matter will be effaced. For upholding the existing friendly relations between the two countries, the King of Siam expresses his thanks to the Resident of Singapore under whose management the affairs of Penang and Malacca will be wisely managed and the friendship of the two nations will descend to posterity.

With regard to the Treaty which was entered into some time ago, it is provided in the 13th article that the Siamese shall have the management of the Quedah country and its people. That the inhabitants of Penang and Quedah shall have the liberty of trading as formerly.

On buffaloes, oxen, ducks, fowls, fish, paddy, rice and all kinds of provisions which the people of Penang and the shipping may require the Siamese shall not impose any duty, neither shall they farm out the mouths of the rivers in the Quedah country, though they are to be entitled to the * and proper imposts. The Siamese engage that on the Rajah of Ligore's return to Siam the family and followers of the Ex Rajah of Quedah shall be freely released. The English are not to take possession of Quedah either by force or otherwise or to allow the Ex Rajah or his followers to create any disturbance or trouble whatever in any part of Quedah or other dependency

* blank

of Siam, but to use their endeavours in placing him in some other country and not allow him to settle either at Penang, Quedah, Salengore or Burmah. In case of the non-fulfilment on the part of the English of this stipulation the Siamese are to be at liberty to impose a duty on paddy and rice in Quedah as formerly. In the event of the Siamese, Chinese or Malays residing at Penang wishing to remove to Quedah, the English engage to offer no opposition to their doing so. Such are the stipulations of the 13th Article of the Treaty, every part of which the Siamese have strictly observed, and have not deviated from the path of friendship. But the Quedah country has now been thrown into confusion in consequence of Tuanko Pangeraw (the Ex Rajah) having disregarded the orders of the English at Penang, refusing to settle himself in another country agreeably to the Treaty, but has fomented disturbances repeatedly and although he did not accompany the invasion himself, he ordered his dependents to go and incite the Malay pirates to attack Quedah and therefore, according to the laws of Siam, he is equally guilty with those who were actually present and concerned.

Before this event took place the Rajah of Ligore made frequent remonstrance to Penang relative to the disturbances created in Quedah by these Malayan pirates belonging to Tuanko Pangerang, of which the English must long ago have been aware. On the 19th day of the 4th month of last year (Siamese style) the Chief of Pulo Penang sent a letter to the Siamese Chief of Quedah stating that Tuanko Pangeran would not be permitted to make war on Quedah, that if he disobeyed the orders of the English he would be punished, and that if his people created any disturbance, they would be seized and sent to the Siamese Chief of Quedah, who confided in this communication and did not suspect that Tuanko Pangeran would then plot with Tuanko Koodin, Tuanko Abdullah and [Yanoos], these worthless Malays, and attack Quedah, which has

now been laid waste. The Rajah of Ligore has however been ordered to equip a force, put an end to this war, restore tranquillity, and place the country on its former footing. He accordingly set out on the 23rd of the 6th Month of this year (Siamese style) after which the Resident of Singapore's letter was received. The Rajah of Ligore was ordered, in case any difficulty should arise with the English, in carrying these instructions into effect, to send a letter and a messenger to the authorities at Penang, and seeing that they were not concerned in the invasion of Quedah to observe scrupulously the friendly stipulations of the Treaty. When he arrives at Quedah, Tuanko Koodin and the adherents of Tuanko Pangeran will not be able to resist him and they will fly into the English districts, and no sooner than he returns they will come back and create confusion again, and the Quedah country will never be at peace. Tuanko Kudin and Tuanko Long Putih will turn pirates and the English and Siamese traders will not be able to pursue their traffic in security. Tuanko Pangeran and this portion of the Malays will plot against Quedah, take refuge in the English dependencies, and the Siamese, although anxious to follow and punish them will be hindered by the Treaty of friendship which they are bound to observe. However if the mischief is so often repeated the forbearance of the Siamese will be greatly tried and owing to Tuanko Pangeran and these worthless Malays the friendship between the two nations will be lessened. If therefore the Resident of Singapore be desirous of perpetuating the good understanding between us he must look well to this affair in all its bearings. Tuanko Long Putih and Tuanko Koodin harass the trading prahus from Penang to Malacca and are thorns and foes to both parties. It is not expedient therefore that they should be allowed to remain in any of our dependencies.

If the Resident of Singapore will send Tuanko

Abdullah, Tuanko Bakie (Kechil) and Yanoos to the Rajah of Ligore together with those Malays who have been guilty of this act of perfidy in attacking Quedah and may have taken refuge in the English territories, the Quedah Country will be perfectly quiet and peaceful and the friendship between the Siamese and English will not be disturbed, but will on the contrary be increased and descend to the latest posterity. Written in the Siamese and also in the Malayan language on the 22nd day of the 7th Month of the present year (Siamese) and delivered to Mr. Hunter of the Ship Madeline. One copy has also been sent overland to the Rajah of Ligore for transmission.

Translated from the Malayan copy

(Signed) R. Wingrove
Assistant Resident
Singapore.

Bengal Secret and political Consultations, vol. 363.

No. 9.

Fort William 11th November 1831

To the Chief Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to report for the information of the Honble. the Vice President in Council, that in pursuance of the instructions conveyed in your letter of the 16th September the Vakeels from the Rajah of Ligore have been apprized of the removal of the Ex Rajah of Quedah to Malacca and also that the tenor of the letters addressed by Mr. Ibbetson to the Siamese Government has been fully explained to them.

2. Having further communicated to them the impossibility of their seeing the Governor General, in consequence of His Lordship's absence from the Presidency, they have determined for the present to forego their intended visit to Calcutta, and have, at their own request, been provided on the Honble. Company's Ship the Enterprize with a passage to Mergui. They take with them to Ligore the letters and presents intended for the Governor General.

3. On their departure from Mergui I shall not fail to address a friendly letter to the Rajah of Ligore, making known to him that his vakeels might on two occasions have proceeded on Steam Vessels to Calcutta, and that they have during their stay at Maulmain been treated with civility and attention. The tenor of Mr. Ibbetson's letters to the Siamese Government shall also be translated into Siamese for the information of the Rajah of Ligore.

I have &c.

(Signed) A. D. Maingy
Commissioner in the
Tenasserim Provinces.

Amherst
The 10th October 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 363.

Fort William 25th November 1831.

No. 81.

To the Chief Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

With reference to my letter dated the 8th ultimo regarding the affairs of Quedah, I have the satisfaction to announce to you, for the information of the Honorable the Vice President in Council, the fall of that fortress to the forces of Siam on the morning of the 5th instant, which settles in the most satisfactory manner the pre-existing difficulties alluded to upon this subject.

As the present is a favorable opportunity for defining the boundary of Province Wellesley, it is my intention to seek a personal interview with the Rajah of Ligore expressly for this purpose. Any considerable acquisition of territory in that direction, although easily obtained, may not be desirable, and I therefore contemplate merely the demarkation of a boundary in the manner provided for in the 3d article of the Treaty of Bangkok, to be formed by nature, such as rivulets and hills, as far as possible, and in which some small addition of country will probably be included, the consequence of which cannot be otherwise than beneficial; but I shall of course avoid definitely accepting any thing beyond this, otherwise than subject to the approval of Government.

I beg to enclose copy of a letter addressed by me to Commander Hamley of H. M.'s Ship Wolfe, to whose indefatigable exertions the termination of this war is mainly to be attributed.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson,
Resident Singapore.

Prince of W. Island
Resident's Office,
The 10th October 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 363.

Fort William 25th November 1831.

No. 82.

To H. Hamley, Esqr., K. L. A.
H. M. Ship Wolfe.

Sir,

Your return to this port from the blockade of Quedah River, with accounts of the fall of that fortress to the forces of Siam, affords me the fairest opportunity of tendering to you my cordial and sincere acknowledgments for the persevering and cheerful zeal with which, at my request, you have so ably co-operated in hastening this desirable event, under circumstances too so truly vexatious to the spirit of British Seaman, unaccustomed to the timid and protracted mode of undisciplined native warfare.

* * * * * *

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Singapore.

Prince of W. Island
Resident's Office,
The 10th October 1831.

(Public Record Office.)
Captains' Logs, No. 3591.

Extracts of the Log of H. M. S. *Wolf* under Commander Hamley.

11 July 1831. A.M. 10.30. Observed a great many armed proas to the N.W. steering towards Queda, which port we were blockading, manned and armed the extra boats, pinnace and cutter, sent them in company with the Emerald cutter under the command of Lieut. Burridge to prevent their getting in. 11.10. made sail towards the boats. 12. proas retreating from the firing of the boats with precipitation.

P.M. 0.30. One of the proas being disabled surrendered. Lieut. Price took possession of her On examination found on board one gun of about 8 Pr., two swivels mounted, several muskets with numerous other implements of war, destroyed the whole of them. 3.30 tacked, boats returned . . . made for anchorage . . . 5 came alongside a Siamese proa to communicate

7 August. A.M. 3.30 manned and armed the extra boats, pinnace, cutter and gig and sent them in company with Crocodile's boats towards the fort of Queda.

11 August. P.M. Supplied the Siamese with one case of powder of 120 lbs per order of Capt. Montagu.

[There are constant references to communications with Siamese proas.]

8 Sept. A.M. 9.30 came alongside a proa in distress, being full of men, women and children. Supplied them with water, rice and bread.

13 Sept. A.M. 10.20. Communicated with a Siamese proa. P.M. 3.30 Cutter rescued from the Siamese 1 man and 2 Women.

14 Sept. A.M. 8.30 Sent cutter to communicate with Siamese. Supplied a boat in distress with

rice and water. P.M. 2. Supplied a Malay proa in distress with rice, water and bread.

15 Sept. A.M. 8. Observed much firing between the fort and Siamese.

17 Sept. A.M. Daylight. Observed heavy firing between the Siamese and the Malays. 9 Observed several Malay Proas escape from the harbour. 11 made sail after them.

P.M. 3.30 Sent cutter to board chase. 5.30 Cutter returned, chase being Malay proas full of women and children.

18 Sept. P.M. Sent boats to anchor 2 Malay proas, being deserted and adrift. Found on board ammunition, guns and other arms and two men, one being dead, the other severely wounded in the head, brought him on board. One of the proas sunk.

19 Sept. A.M. 9 Sent pinnace to Malay proa. Siamese took possession of her.

4 Oct. A.M. 10 Came alongside a Siamese proa. Observed a large fire at Quedah fort. P.M. 1. Sent the cutter to Quedah fort. 5.30 cutter returned.

5 Oct. A.M. 8 Sent cutter to Quedah fort.

19 Oct. A.M. 8 Sent cutter to Quedah fort, 10 Ditto returned with Siamese proa.

21 Oct. A.M. The Captain and officers went on shore to the Rajah of Ligore.

22 Oct. A.M. 7 Weighed and made sail [for Penang].

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 362.

No. 25.

Fort William 14th October 1831.

Minute by the Vice President.

10th October 1831.

* * * * * *

With respect to Mr. Ibbetson's application on the subject of Quedah he may, I conceive, be instructed, pending the receipt of orders from the Governor General, that he is not to detach any force to the aid of the Rajah of Ligore for the recovery of Quedah.

(Signed) C. T. Metcalfe.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 366.

Fort William 4th June 1832.

No. 12.

To His Excellency Sir E. Owen, K. C. B.,
Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief.

Sir,

I am honored with your Excellency's letters dated the 12th instant, and beg in the first instance to tender my acknowledgments for the obliging offer of assistance it conveys, either to model or arm the boats about to be equipped and employed by Government in the protection of the trade. Two are now building at Malacca, and I am daily expecting four more from the Rajah of Ligore, which when realized, I shall most thankfully avail myself of your Excellency's offer. The boats are to be fitted with masts and sails in the Malayan fashion, each to carrry one large gun, and being in length from forty to forty five [feet], they will be calculated I hope in point of size to afford all the convenience and accommodation necessary for Sepoys or other fighting men.

Although I cannot but regret the decided tone of disapprobation with which your Excellency views Captain Montague's co-operation with the forces of Siam, I must nevertheless confess, that except in aid of those of the Honble. Company, and even then only if engaged under the express authority of the Supreme Government, would I have requested any decided assistance from H. M.'s ships, for it was a point which I considered of paramount importance, first to ascertain, before so acting, how far our Government, under all the circumstances of the case, was pledged to support the Siamese at Quedah. The question I felt could properly be decided only by the two Supreme authorities, the Governor General and the Emperor of Siam, and in adopting such measures in the interim, as were best calculated in my opinion to undeceive the latter as to any participation on our part with the

followers and adherents of the Ex King; without at the same time actually joining the Siamese in any operations by land, I did all that it was competent in me to attempt. I am happy in knowing that my conduct generally in this affair has been approved of, as intimated to me in Mr. Secretary Prinsep's letter of the 15th August last* copy of which, with other correspondence on the same subject, has I am aware been forwarded to your Excellency.

* (*Copied from Ben: Pol: Cons: Range 126, vol. 33.*)

I have no official report of the transactions of Commander Hamley K. L. A. off Quedah, other than what he has kindly communicated to me in person, of all the trouble and difficulties he had to contend against in that disagreeable duty. When I last quitted this station in June I was in daily expectation that peace would be restored and his aid no longer required; but I have never been aware that he acted otherwise than in the blockade of Quedah River which I am happy to observe meets with your Excellency's approbation.

* * * * * *

I have etc.,

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Governor.

Resident's Office
Prince of W. Island.
The 17th November 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 366.

Fort William 4th June 1832.

No. 12 Contd. Encl. No. 1.

To His Excellency Sir E. Owen, K. C. B.,
Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief.

Si,r

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter dated the 26th February last, and to record my cordial acknowledgment of the unremitting attention with which you have protected the trade in this quarter, the effect of which is apparent in the fact that not a single instance of piracy of a serious nature has been brought to my knowledge since your departure from the Straits.

The Supreme Government have authorized the building of six large row boats to be employed in the manner you have suggested and I am now engaged in hastening their equipment. I am sanguine in the expectation, that assisted by the vessels your Excellency can occasionally spare for the service, piratical depredations will at least on this side of the Straits, soon become a novelty.

Captain Hamley will no doubt have furnished your Excellency with copy of my correspondence with him regarding the late capture of Quedah from the Siamese, by a force under the command of the relations and adherents of the Ex King, by which the 13th Article of the Treaty of Bangkok has no doubt been violated, in defiance too of repeated proclamations by the late Government in these Straits ; and of the consequences which might have been expected to result from such proceedings. As the first step towards the maintenance of our friendly relations with the Government of Siam I removed the Ex King with his family to Malacca, and have tendered to the Siamese the aid of the marine forces at my disposal to assist in blockading

the mouth of the Kedah River, whilst they are effecting their attack by land. Captain Hamley most readily fell in with my request to proceed there with the Wolf for the purpose of distributing translations of the enclosed proclamation which I issued in the hope that it might further tend to disperse the forces of the Malays, although I fear without more effectual assistance than I am at present disposed to give them, the Siamese will make slow progress in recapturing the Fort of Quedah until they have collected their scattered forces and assembled in great numbers, as the country itself appears partially to have risen in favor of the invaders, which gives a character to the insurrection quite different to the one contemplated in the Treaty. For the peace and quiet of all concerned I shall be glad that matters are finally brought to issue, as nothing can be more injurious to the traffic and cultivation of places situated near such a warfare than its long continuance, independent of other evils when it is over, vizt., the certainty that most of the Malays will turn to pirating when they are worsted.

I have etc.,

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Singapore.

Malacca
Resident's Office
The 12th July 1832.

Fort William 4th June 1832.

Proclamation.

Whereas with the view of upholding the faith of Treaties and of preserving our friendly relations with the Government of Siam, it may immediately become necessary to co-operate with it in the recapture of Quedah, conformably with the 13th Article of the Treaty of Bangkok, dated the 20th June 1826, and whereas many British subjects having joined the present piratical attack upon that capital by Tuanku Hudin, his followers and associates—This is to give notice, that such subjects abovementioned as do not peaceably return to their homes within five days after the promulgation of this notification will subject themselves to all the penalties attached to British subjects found in open arms against its own Government, and that of our ally, contrary also to express Treaty, and the repeated orders and proclamations of the late Government in these Straits.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Singapore.

P. of W. Island
24 June 1831.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 363.

Fort William 30th December 1831.

No. 7.

To the Chief Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir.

Conformably with intention contained in my letter of the 10th ultimo, I have had an interview with the Rajah of Ligore at Quedah, and have now the honor to report to you for the information of the Honorable the Vice President in Council the success which has attended it, having at last obtained a definite boundary to Province Wellesley, which for so many years had been a principal desideratum with the late Government, and now made more important than ever in consequence of the hostile feelings and disputes which are constantly arising between the subjects of our Government and the Malayan inhabitants on that line of frontier.

Nunber 1. The accompanying copy of the Agreement upon this subject between the Rajah and myself will afford for the present a general outline of the boundary established, but I hope ere long through the assistance of His Excellency the Naval Commander in Chief to be able to transmit a correct plan of the whole, and in the interim therefore merely to observe by way of explanation that "Mooda" River continues as formerly our boundary to the North, as does the Krean River to the South. That the three brick pillars mentioned in the agreement will be erected at an expense not exceeding three hundred rupees, and the boundary road of about thirty five miles in length, in a line meandering from one pillar to the other, as the nature of the country will best admit, will be made by the convicts. The addition of territory obtained in this negotation may be estimated at as much again as we originally possessed under the

former title ; that is, instead of 2¾ miles inland from the sea, it will now average about five, with this further advantage, that the soil and country beyond our former boundary is superior in every respect to the mangrove swamps nearer the coast. The whole extent of the newly acquired territory is uncommonly rich in rice ground with a considerable population, now daily encreasing by the runaways from Quedah and Purlis, and good management alone will be necessary, not only to raise a tolerable revenue, but also to ensure such supplies for the Island, as under all ordinary circumstances, will make us independent of neighbouring countries.

Number 2, 3. The enclosed translation of the accompanying letter from the Rajah of Ligore to the Right Honourable the Governor General speaks so plainly for itself that little observation appears necessary from me. His request for military aid in the event of the Malays recapturing Quedah involves questions of considerable importance, only, of course, to be adjusted by the highest authorities at Bangkok, but it displays the workings of his mind, and confirms me in the belief that his fears and wishes are those precisely, which every one acquainted with the existing state and feelings of the Malays at Quedah would naturally possess. To a limited extent I am decidedly of opinion that co-operation might be useful were it only to operate in the suppression of piracy. Hitherto for instance, in consequence of the suspicious jealousy of the Siamese towards us, pirates were never chased up rivers beyond our own immediate boundary, whereas now, our presence on the contrary would be courted by them where ever we pleased to go, and without immediate co-operation, in the sense implied in the request of the Rajah, a sufficient display on these occasions might be made as to induce a belief on the part of the Malays that such would doubtless be our conduct,

and thereby deter them from the attempts anticipated; for, as justly observed by the Rajah of Ligore, the prosperity of this Island is so intimately blended with that of Quedah in these matters, that I do consider decided measures necessary at present to efface the impression so generally prevalent among the Malayan population that the opposition of the Ex King's adherents to the Siamese is rather pleasing than otherwise to the feelings of Englishmen. They have, I know, been encouraged in this belief by actual observation of the fact, and nothing but the sad reflection of the past has awakened them to a sense of the reality, that Government views their conduct differently.

4. Tuanku Soliman is at last a prisoner to the Siamese, by which we are rid of a treacherous and troublesome neighbour, now to be succeeded by military posts of the latter, opposite to ours, along the frontier of Province Wellesley. This will effectually maintain quiet there for the future, and enable Captain Low (whose time has lately been solely occupied in maintaining the peace) to settle the district under the newly received land Regulations, by which union of events, with his ever zealous endeavours, and great accession of population, I hope to see Prince of Wales Island ere long pay for itself.

5. In several conversations with the Rajah of Ligore I succeeded in explaining to his ultimate comprehension the difference which existed between the laws of our country and his, where by the latter it was permitted at the will of its Chief to surrender any individual to another state at pleasure. It smoothed considerably the vexation he had experienced at finding his worst enemies, after narrowly escaping him, could find protection nowhere but at Prince of Wales Island.

6. As another proof among the many I have already given him of our sincerity in his cause, I

suggested that he should furnish two intelligent Siamese, whom I would entertain and pay in the Police, as peons. The idea originated with myself upon his observation that we harboured all his enemies, to which I replied that our people did not know them. He was infinitely pleased with the proposal and as they will be really serviceable in detecting combinations of the nature alluded to, and also tend to guard us at a cheap rate against the charge of inattention to his interests, should any untoward event again occur, I hope the measure will be sanctioned.

7. Enclosed is a Memorandum of the expenses of this negotiation which I trust will not be considered to have been improvidently incurred.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident at Singapore.

Resident's Office
Prince of Wales Island
The 23d. November 1831.

[The total amounted to Sa. Rs. 1360. 13. 2.]

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 363.

Fort William 30th December 1831.

No. 8.

ENGAGEMENT betwixt Robert Ibbetson Esqr., Resident of Singapore, Pulo Penang and Malacca, who has come into the Quedah country, and the Chou Phaya of Ligore Si Tamrat, who is under the dominion of Somdet Phra Phootthee Chow Yo Hooa who is the Supreme Ruler over the Great Country of Sri Ayuthaya, vizt. Siam. With reference to the third article of the Treaty betwixt Somdet Phra Phootthee Chow Yo Hooa, who is the Supreme Ruler over the Great Country of Sri Ayuthaya, and the British Government, it is now agreed on betwixt the above contracting parties vizt. the Chow Phaya of Ligore Si Tamrat and Robert Ibbetson Esq., Resident of Singapore, Pulo Penang and Malacca, and with respect to the subject of the boundary betwixt the British Territory of Province Wellesley, and the country and Government of Quedah, that the said boundary shall be as follows—From Summatool on the South Bank of the Soongee Qualla Mooda by a road leading to the River Pry, at a spot ten orlongs East of the River Sooogee Dua Hooloo, then descending the middle of the Pry River to the mouth of the River Soongee Sintoo, then ascending the Soongee Sintoo in a straight direction eastwards, and up to the hill Bukit Maratajum, then from Bukit Maratajum along the range of hills called Bukit Berator to a place on the north bank of the River Krean, five orlongs above and east of Bukit Tungal, and it is agreed that brick or stone pillars shall be erected, one at the boundary of Lunatool, another at the boundary on the Pry River, and a third at the boundary on the Krean River. Two copies of this Agreement have been made out and to these have been affixed the Seal of the Honourable English Company, and the signature of Robert Ibbetson Esqr., Resident of Singapore, Pulo Penang and Malacca, and the Chop or Seal of the Chow Phaya

of Ligore Si Tamrat, one copy to be retained by each of the above contracting parties, and the said agreement has been written in three languages, the Siamese, Malayan, and English, on Wednesday the Second day of November one thousand eight hundred and thirty one of the English era.

(Signed) L. S.

R. Ibbetson

Resident of Singapore
Prince of Wales Island
and Malacca.

Seal and Signature
of the Rajah of
Ligore.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 363.

Fort William 30th December 1831.

No. 9.

This letter from Chau Phriya Sri Thammasookraj Chat De Cho Chai Mahai Sooriya teebadee Apaiya peeree bra Krommabahu Chau Phriya Ligor Si Tamrat to the Right Honorable Lord Bentinck Governor General of British India.

After the usual Compliments.

I am desirous to acquaint my friend that formerly I took Captain Henry Burney to pay his respects to the Emperor of Siam, Somdet Phra Phoot thee Chau yu Hua, who is mighty and exalted, at the capital Phra Maha Nagara Sri Ayuthya, in order to make a treaty of friendship and alliance which might last so long as the sky and earth should endure, and I expressed my clear conviction that this friendly alliance would be yet more firmly cemented. Now my friend knows that Quedah and Pulo Penang lie so close together as to resemble a single country. If Quedah is in peace the rice fields will be cultivated and food will be abundant in store and trade will be carried on betwixt Penang and Quedah, thereby linking them together and maintaining a friendly intercourse, and I am of opinion that this state of things will exceedingly strengthen the alliance betwixt the English and Siamese. Moreover in a former year when my friend visited Penang and the news of that event had reached Ligore, I thought it to be a favorable opportunity to endeavour to improve the good understanding then subsisting betwixt my friend and me. I therefore prepared a few articles of Siamese manufacture of various descriptions and, it being inconvenient and too late to send them by way of Penang, I dispatched some of my people with them to Mergui, with a request to Mr. Maingy to assist in forwarding them to my friend in Bengal. But I am yet uninformed

whether these these things have reached their destination or not. There is another subject I wish to notice. Tuanku Din and Tuanku Lang Putih, relatives of the former Rajah of Quedah, having excited a rebellion in the Quedah country, I was obliged to bring down my forces to quell it. This having been effected, and Tuanku Din having been killed, I have regained my authority over Quedah. Now Mr. Ibbetson, the Rajah of Singapore, Pulo Penang and Malacca, and Captain Low have gratified me by coming to visit me in Quedah. These two gentlemen, as also Mr. Murchison, the Resident of Pulo Penang, have afforded me such aid in all my late operations that I feel myself deeply indebted to my friend and now return him my sincere thanks. Moreover the Rajah of Singapore (Mr. Ibbetson) asked me to settle the land boundary betwixt the territory appertaining to Penang and that of the Siamese. I was exceedingly pleased at this request, and immediately complied with it. In an old agreement with the Company the measurement in land from the sea was considered to be sixty orlongs. I have moreover now given much more than formerly in order to gratify the Raja of Singapore and Captain Low. Certain hills and rivers have also been fixed on at as land marks, and points have been also fixed on at which stone boundary pillars are to be erected. A written agreement has likewise been made out in duplicate, and to this has been affixed the seal of the Honourable English Company, the signature of the Rajah of Singapore and my own seal, and copies have been mutually interchanged betwixt us in token of friendly alliance, With regard to Tuanku Soliman who occupied or resided close to the frontier line, I have ordered him to quit the place, for I cannot countenance a man who has behaved so wickedly towards the English as he has. The ports hitherto occupied by his people shall be in future held by Siamese. The Rajah of Singapore acquaints me that should an enemy attack these my frontier posts and the Siamese there be unable to resist him the

latter will be permitted to seek shelter within the English territory.

I am still under some little apprehension respecting the condition of the Quedah Province on account of its distance from that one in which I reside and as the attention which I am obliged to pay to the many other Provinces under my Government prevents me from personally superintending the affairs of this one.

Adverting to the probability of the Malays again conspiring to act as they have lately done in the various rivers of Quedah, and to my friend's not being perhaps all aware of the oppression and devastation which these wicked pirates have committed over the face of the country up to this day, the Rajah of Singapore has informed me that in the event of the Ex Rajah's of Quedah's relatives again creating any disturbance he will assist me in quelling it, but that he cannot assist should any other Rajah so act. On this account I am anxious to have an addition, or supplement made to the Treaty with the English Company, and to the following affect, that should any rebellion or disturbance arise in the Penang territory, information, if desired, should be sent to Quedah, and if required, then Quedah shall send a force to aid Pulo Penang; and if any rebellion or disturbance shall arise in Quedah, then if necessary, a letter shall be sent to Pulo Penang to ask the aid of a force to put it down. Thus would the two countries become as one, and peace would be permanently established. My friend must be well aware that Penang, equally with Quedah, is injured by these disturbances.

I have another request to make of my friend. All those who conspire against my country are my enemies. Yet they have all fled to Pulo Penang, where they live unmolested, and are only watching a good opportunity to come again and excite to rebellion and mischief in my country. There is one man

named "Seid Abdullah man," an old inhabitant (of Quedah) who owes me many dollars, and who occupied places of trust under me. This man has been guilty of rebellion and has besides amassed considerable wealth by means of robbing and plundering in Quedah. With this plunder he has fled to Penang where he is now living at his ease.

I therefore earnestly solicit that my friend will order this man to be delivered up to me, as such an example will overawe my enemies. So long as the latter have such a secure place of refuge, my country will not keep quiet. There is another man called "Tuanku Mahamed Iriva" lately a resident in Quedah with his family This man has his relatives there. He has been a strong supporter of Tuanku Din, and was made by him one of his Panghulus (Chiefs). He also came and fought with the Siamese at Koobhoo. But he was here defeated and driven back to the Fort, at the mouth of the river, where he continued to oppose my troops. When my force was about to take that Fort he went to Purlis (in Quedah) and there incited the Malays to insurrection, and to make an attack on my army. But when my troops went to meet him he was unable to oppose them, and therefore fled to Penang. I am desirous also to have him sent to me and request my friend to assist me. Should my friend comply it will thus be noised abroad, that my friend is favorably disposed towards me, and all the rebelliously inclined will be disheartened. For what can I do with these pirates, and wicked persons of Quedah who have fled to Penang. I have no recourse against them, and they have no apprehension of consequences, but only consider how they may best conspire at a future period. I greatly desire to cement more firmly the friendly relations existing betwixt my friend and me, so that Penang and Quedah may become like one country. I have therefore one other wish to express to my friend. If offenders or wicked persons fly from Penang to Quedah I will seize and

deliver them up. And if offenders or wicked persons of Quedah fly from it to the British territory I request that they may in like manner be delivered up to me. My friend will act in this manner and approve or not according as he shall see best. Should he approve of (the proposition) I apprehend that it will prove an excellent arrangement. I have given a copy of this letter to the Rajah of Singapore, in order that he may direct a translation of it to be made into English, and I have requested him to forward my letter to my friend accompanied by two silver articles of Siamese manufacture (a rice and a betel holder) as token of my regard, and an earnest of my desire for maintaining a lasting and firm friendship which can never be broken; and as I am anxious to have my friend's sentiments in regard to these amicable proposals, I request my friend will reply by letter. This letter is dated on Wednesday on the twelfth day of the moon's decrease in the 12th Month in the year of Hare (or 2d November 1831).

True Translation

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Resident Singapore.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 365.

Fort William 20th February 1832.

No. 40.

Southampton Penang
3d January 1832

To His Excellency
The Right Honble. Lord Wm. Bentinck, G. C. B.,
Governor General in Council &ca. &ca. &ca.

FORT WILLIAM.

My Lord,

As I was about to sail this morning the accompanying letter from H. H. the late Raja of Queda was sent to me with a request that it might be forwarded to your Excellency.

I have the honor therefore to enclose it together with a translated copy of one which I received at the same time.

And I have &ca.

(Signed) E. W. C. R. Owen,
Rear Admiral Commanding
in Chief.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 365.

Fort William 20th February 1832.

Translation of a letter from the Ex Rajah of Quedah to His Excellency Rear Admiral Sir Edward Owen, K. C. B.

(After Compliments.)

I have already fully informed my friend of the oppression I have received from the Siamese in having my country treacherously taken away from me. At that time I brought my family with me, with the intention of placing them with my younger brother Tunko Soliman at his residence at Pry, as I was anxious to form some plan of retaking the country of Quedah from the Siamese, because my ministers, people and army were still unbroken. On a sudden Mr. Cracraft, Mr. Anderson and Captain Coombs came as envoys from Governor Phillips for the purpose of persuading me to take up my residence in Pulo Penang, stating that the Company were desirous of assisting me, in compliance with the terms of the Treaty which they have made with my deceased Father and Uncle through the medium of Captain Light and Sir George Leith, Bt., Lieutenant Governor, Vizt. that the Company would render assistance in every case of difficulty down to the latest posterity. Now this was in both Treaties which were to continue so long as the sun and moon continued to revolve. On hearing this, my confidence in the assistance of the English Company was increased ten fold, and in consequence thereof I came to reside at Pulo Penang, and and for about twelve years there were no symptoms of any thing being done as I was led to believe would be the case. In the mean time Captain Burney went and made a Treaty with the Siamese without my knowing any thing of the circumstance and on his return from the Siamese country, I was suddenly ordered

to remove to Malacca. As I would not consent to this my monthly stipend from the Company was stopped by Governor Fullerton. I then asked permission to reside at Province Wellesley for the purpose of gaining a livelihood. Shortly after Nearne came to shew me the translation of an order which had just been received from Bengal; in this I was ordered to take my residence again at Pulo Penang. Whilst determining what to do, I received a letter from the Resident, Mr. Murchison, inviting me to come to Penang in compliance with the orders of the Governor General of Bengal. He also gave me a house and the ground attached to it with my old stipend from the Company. Upon this I removed to Pulo Penang to the house which had been given me, and remained there three or four months under the protection of the Company, when the disturbance between the people of Quedah and the Siamese took place. Of this I was entirely ignorant and never countenanced the expedition which had been made. On a sudden the Resident, Mr. Ibbetson, said he had an order for me to retire from Penang and go to Malacca or some other country equally distant from the Siamese territories. At this I was extremely startled and astonished, as I had not been guilty of doing any thing wrong However being desirous of respecting an order emanating from such an authority, I complied with it, and went to reside at Malacca until I could receive the orders of the Governor General of Bengal in answer to a petition I sent him. I gave the house and ground, received as a gift from the Company, to my family to reside in. Now Mr. Ibbetson has taken away this house and intends to dispose of it by auction, thereby causing great distress and inconvenience to my family, who have no other place to live in, as I went to Malacca in compliance with orders received, and am now greatly distressed to hear such news of my family. Moreover, however great my distress has been during former years, it has been much

increased since coming to reside at Malacca, where I have been constantly afflicted with fever, and in consequence thereof have made a petition stating my complaints to the Governor General*, which I have forwarded with this to my friend by my nephew, Mahommed Hukih, and as I have no other person to confide in except my friend, I trust to his kindness to forward my letter to the Governor General and perhaps by the blessing of providence and the kindness of my friend I may receive an answer and be put a little more at rest. Such is the purport of this letter. Written on Tuesday the 16th Rajib 1247.

(True Translation)

(Signed) H. Nairne.

[* The petition of the King of Quedah to the Governor General is the same in substance as this document. It is dated 3 January 1832 and a translation appears in Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, Vol. 366 (No. 2 of Consultation of 7 May 1832).]

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 366.

Fort William 4th June 1832.

No. 11. To the Chief Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 13th February last, with enclosures, calling for explanation regarding the grounds of my application to Rear Admiral Sir Edward Owen, to blockade the River Purlis.

* * * * * *

Information derived from various quarters at that date, left no room to doubt that Tuanko Long Pootie, with other relations and adherents of the Ex King, recently driven from Quedah, had again proceeded, as on the former occasion, up the various rivers and creeks bordering upon Province Wellesley; from whence, as well as from Prince of Wales Island, they were recruiting their scattered forces, and obtaining supplies of arms and ammunition, without the possibility of prevention by our police, and where to have pursued them would have answered no good purpose, when in the words of Sir E. Owen, I could not "treat as pirates any against whom no acts of piracy had been specifically alleged, or proof obtained." What was then to be done to prevent a second attack upon the Siamese similar to the former, and that by a force again fitted out from Penang and Province Wellesley? I could not blockade the mouths of the various creeks up which these people were recruiting, for independent of the numerous vessels which such a service would require, on what pretence could I possibly have attacked them, without encountering the risk of judicial process, to assist them in which there would not have wanted either money or advisers? To have met

them at sea, I should have been equally at a loss but off Quedah or Purlis. I was there sure to be told, there are the relations and adherents of the Ex King, who having been fitted out at Penang and Province Wellesley, are now come to attack us in violation of Treaties and your promise to prevent them. Here a more ostensible reason for intercepting their further progress would have been presented, and to act in any manner further than this I never for an instant contemplated. The term blockade is perhaps too extensive in its meaning to be properly applied to such a service, but His Excellency Sir Edward Owen, from my personal communications, must have been fully sensible at the time of what I have now stated; but probably desirous to evade a troublesome and disagreeable call, he took, I think, a somewhat fanciful view of my intentions, which I felt at the time, but did not reply to.

(? 23d. Nov.—*Copied from Ben. Sec. and Pol. Cons. Vol. 363.*)

I hope my letter of the 24th* November last will support the statement I have here offered, and that under the perplexing circumstances of the case I could not consistently have acted otherwise than I did. I considered it just possible that a last attempt might probably be made by the Ex King's relatives and adherents to assist the insurgents, in which case I had no other means than the one I proposed of even attempting to prevent the further assistance of "men or "arms joining them from Penang or Province "Wellesley," the effect of which, had it succeeded at that moment when quiet was almost restored, would have gone far to efface with the Siamese, the favorable impression, then established, of our sincerity. I knew the Malays also to be at their last gasp, and that the most effectual way to prevent "a long, a teazing and "a vindictive warfare" was to put down by every possible means the resuscitation of its spirit within our own territory; knowing also that to a man, Europeans as well as Natives would have contributed towards

the enterprize had they perceived me indifferent to the result.

I have etc.,

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Governor.

Singapore
25th April 1832.

Bengal Dispatches, vol. 119, pp. 1235-1251.

23 May 1832.

Bengal
Political Department.

Our Governor General in Council
at Fort William in Bengal.

* * * * * *

Para. 13. Our political relations with the States in the Malay Peninsula are, to a certain extent, defined by the Treaty with Siam; and the policy to be observed towards those States is simple and obvious. We considered that their subjugation by the Siamese Government would be injurious to our interests, and we therefore induced the King of Siam to engage not to attack them, and bound ourselves on the other hand to prevent them from attacking him. In any other case than those contemplated in this engagement our policy is to abstain from all interference with these States.

14. The Siamese Government has engaged to allow the export of provisions from Quedah to our territories free of all duty, but this concession was conditional upon our not permitting the Ex Rajah of Quedah to reside in Prince of Wales Island, Province Wellesley, Perak, Salengore, or the Burman territories. This condition we have not fulfilled. The Ex Rajah not only refuses to proceed to Malacca, although an encrease of his stipend was tendered to him on that condition, but has actually taken up his residence in Province Wellesley near the frontier of his ancient possessions, at which proceedings the Siamese authorities have naturally taken umbrage. We perceive however from the opinion of your Advocate General, that you would not be legally warranted in forcibly removing the Ex Rajah from the Settlement.

15. Major Burney's surmise that the late Government of Prince of Wales Island might, by greater address and a more conciliatory demeanour, have persuaded the Ex Rajah to withdraw voluntarily, may or may not be well founded. It at least appears not improbable that the Ex Rajah might have been induced to do what he himself suggested, namely, to proceed to Delli, or Siak, or some other part of Sumatra, if the Penang Government had not signified to him that his going to those places, though it would not be prevented, would deprive him of his stipend, and of the countenance and protection of the British Government. When your Government afterwards caused intimation to be made to him that his stipend would still be continued wherever he might reside, provided it were not in any of the places named in the Treaty of Bangkok, the favorable moment was past, and he refused to quit Penang. His allowance was accordingly stopped, and continued under suspension from January 1828 to the latest advices.

16. Your final resolution was, to remove the Ex Rajah by force if necessary, from Province Wellesley, but to allow him to reside at Penang and draw his stipend as before, the Siamese authorities being consequently released from the engagement (hitherto faithfully observed on their part) not to impose any duties on the export of grain.

17. What has been done in pursuance of this resolution of your Government we are yet uninformed; and it is possible that the stipend of 6000 dollars per annum may have been restored to the Ex Rajah under a pledge which cannot now be recalled, of his being allowed to remain at Penang.

18. We may allow that it is no violation of the Treaty of Bangkok, to permit the Ex Rajah to reside at Penang, provided we waive the commercial benefit which was promised us in consideration of our ejecting

him. This however is a sacrifice of the substantial interests of our own subjects in the important particular of the price of their food, which we do not deem ourselves warranted in making from deference to an individual whose anxiety to remain in the neighbourhood of his former possessions affords a strong presumtion that he cherishes designs, which we are bound by Treaty to hinder him from attempting to realize. It may be that we have not legal power to expel him from the Settlement, though, if so, we should conceive that a similar objection must apply to the meditated employment of force to remove him from Province Wellesley. But we have the power of retaining his stipend under suspension, until he is willing to purchase its restoration by choosing some unobjectionable place of abode. And this measure we desire may be adopted, unless, as we are apprehensive, you have already entered into engagements which preclude such a proceedings.

We are,

Your affectionate friends,

(Signed) J. G. Ravenshaw
&ca. &ca.

London
the 23d May 1832.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 366.

Fort William 25th June 1832.

No. 1.

To the Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort William.

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that after a careful perusal of the whole of the correspondence connected with the case of the Ex King of Quedah, together with the letters from that Chief received though His Excellency the Naval Commander in Chief and a person named Bastian, who was deputed by the Ex King to Calcutta; His Lordship has come to the conclusion that under all the circumstances of the case the character of the British Government for generosity and justice requires that the Ex King should receive the benefit of the full stipend of 10,000 dollars a year, authorized to be settled upon him by the instructions of the 30th April 1830* on condition of his retiring to Malacca or some other place more remote from Quedah than Prince of Wales Island.

(* *Straits Settlements vol. 133.*)

If His Honor in Council concurs in this view of the subject, it is requested that orders may be issued to the Resident at Singapore to pay the Ex King the full stipend of 10,000 dollars with arrears from the date of his sailing for Malacca.

In this concession His Lordship further thinks all the minor claims of the Ex King should be considered as having merged.

I have &ca.,

(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secry. to the Governor General.

Simlah
6th June 1832.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 369.

Fort William 19th November 1832.

Secret Dept. No.2.

To the Chief Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit to you for the purpose of being laid before the Honorable the Vice President in Council copy of a letter from Mr. Bonham dated the 9 instant and of its enclosures, with the copy of my reply thereto, regarding the appearance of some Siamese war boats at Tringannu, and the evil consequences likely to arise to our trade in that quarter should any warlike attack by the former be made upon the latter.

For the reasons stated in my letter above alluded to I shall refrain from further remonstrance pending the present reference.

I have &c.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Governor P. W. Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Prince of Wales Island
28th August 1832.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 369.

Fort William 19th November 1832.

No. 3.

To R. Ibbetson, Esq.,
Governor &ca. &ca. &ca.
Prince of Wales Island.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of informing you that I have received authentic intelligence of the arrival of 5 Siamese war boats at Tringannu, which has caused considerable alarm to the inhabitants of that Settlement, and some uneasiness to the Chinese traders of this, as should the Siamese proceed to hostilities, our commercial interests with the ports on the east coast of the Peninsula are likely to be much affected.

I believe the ostensible reason for the visit to Tringannu is to search for certain persons who have fled from the State of Patani, it being understood, however, that the Siamese have a large force at a place called Ligile in Patani, close on the borders of Calantan, induces a belief that they may intend to invade both Calantan and Tringannu, both of which states they are bound, by the Treaty entered into by them with Major Burney, to respect.

In order therefore to prevent, as far as possible, a catastrophe so pregnant with danger to the commercial interests of this Settlement, I have written to the principal Commander of the Siamese flotilla, and brought to his notice the Treaty existing between our Government and that of Siam, by which the latter is bound not to molest either Calantan or Tringannu, copy of which I herewith enclose.

I beg further to add, that of late the trade of this Settlement has suffered by pirates infesting the coast from hence to Tringannu; this I have brought to the notice of Captain Plumbridge, and could that officer

be induced to take a cruize as far as Tringunnu, and examine the islands on his passage, I anticipate considerable benefit in every respect. Such a proceeding would at all events disperse the pirates, and his appearance at Tringunnu would keep in check the Siamese, who would at once conceive that the visit had been caused by them, and would by no means call on us for further interference.

I have &c.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham
Resident Councillor.

Singapore
The 9th August 1832.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 369.

Fort William 19th November 1832.

To Chow Phya Calahom
Principal Commander of the Siamese
War Boats at Tringannu.

After the usual Compliments.

It has been bronght to my notice that five Siamese war boats have lately arrived at Tringannu, and that furthermore an army with elephants and many people are at a place called Ligile, in the country of Patani on the borders of Calantan, This letter is therefore sent to bring to the remembrance of the Siamese, that by the 12th Article of the Treaty entered into between the English and Siamese on the first day of the seventh decreasing Moon 1188 year dog 8, according to the Siamese Era, corresponding with the 20 day of June 1826 of the European Era, it is agreed as follows :—

> " Siam shall not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the state of Tringannu and Calantan. English merchants and subjects shall have trade and intercourse in future with the same facility and freedom as they have heretofore had, and the English shall not go and molest, attack or disturb those states upon any pretence whatever."

I trust therefore that the Siamese war boats will proceed in friendly manner towards those states as they have agreed to do, and not molest them, as by doing so they interfere with the English trade.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham
Resident Councillor.

Singapore
9 August 1832.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 369.

Fort William 19th November 1832.

To the Resident Councillor, Singapore.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 9th instant with its enclosure, on the subject of the appearance of five Siamese war boats at Tringannu, and submitting your opinion, should the former proceed to actual hostilities with the latter, that our commercial interests with the ports on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula are likely to be much affected.

Upon this point I am also decidedly of your opinion, but for the following reasons I am not the less doubtful of the propriety of interference.

In the first place the commerce of "*English merchants and subjects*" has not yet been interfered with.

In the second, it does not appear that we have more right to complain of the appearance of Siamese War Boats at Tringannu, than would the Siamese have a right to complain of the appearance of ours in that country. On the contrary indeed it appears to me from the context generally of the Treaty of Bangkok, that Tringannu and Calantan are both viewed more in the light of dependencies on Siam, than of states entirely independent of that power.

In the Treaty just alluded to, it must be observed, that the same prohibition which in Article 12 interdicts our interference with Tringannu and Calantan, Article 14 equally maintains with regard to the interference of Siam with Salengore. The object of this (the result of mutual suspicion) appears to be to stop on the one hand the extension of our Dominion towards Siam on the East Coast, whilst on the other,

the Dominion of that power is equally checked from approaching nearer to our Settlements on the West Coast.

At the period when the Treaty was concluded, the country of Perak had all but fallen a prey to Siam, but the troops of the latter not having assembled in numbers sufficient to strike the blow, advantage was taken to stipulate (Article 14) "that the Rajah of Perak shall govern his country according to his own will;" and made by *us* to comprehend the the object of this clause. The Rajah was not long in deciding that point and the Siamese were reluctantly forced to give up a prize which a little more energy or foresight on their part would have secured for ever. Perak, instead of Salengore, thus became the barrier to their further usurpations in this quarter; and will so continue whilst our secret influence in that country is greater than theirs.

Under this view of the case you will refrain from further remonstrances pending a reference to Government, and further instructions from me; the measures you have already adopted will be sufficient I doubt not to prevent serious inconvenience for some time.

I have &ca. &ca.

(Signed) R. Ibbetson
Governor &ca. &ca. &ca.

Prince of Wales Island
28 August 1832.

Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, vol. 369.

Fort William 19th November 1832.

No. 3.

To R. Ibbetson Esqr.
Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malaccea.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 17 of the 28th August last regarding the appearance of some Siamese war boats at Tringanu and to acquaint you in reply that the Honorable the Vice President in Council entirely approves the tenor of your letter to Mr. Bonham to refrain from further remonstrance with the Governor of Siam pending the reference to the Supreme Government.

2. The Vice President in Council directs me to state that you have properly pointed out to Mr. Bonham the spirit and intent of the Article in the Treaty with Siam relating to Tringannu and Calantan, and justly remarked to him that you were doubtful of the propriety of our interference, while as yet the commerce of English merchants and subjects had not been interrupted. The Treaty in question does not confer on the *rotes of Tringanu and Calantan any right to demand our interference in their favor to defend them against the Governor of Siam, and the Article itself, on which Mr. Bonham has founded his remonstrance to the Commander of the Siamese war boats, distinctly provides against our going to molest, attack or disturb these states, while it is quite silent with respect to the right of Siam to do so, so long as the English are permitted to carry on their trade and intercourse with them as heretofore.

(sic)? states

I have &ca.

(Signed) G. Swinton
Chief Secretary to Government.

Fort William
19th November 1832.

Bengal Dispatches, vol. 120, pp. 1193-1250.

Bengal
Political Department.

21st November 1839.

* * * * * *

Proceedings relative to the Ex King of Quedah, previously to the capture of Quedah by the Malays.

Para. 4. The Ex King had refused the proposal made to him to quit Province Wellesley, where his presence was most injurious to our interests, and to return to Penang upon the promise of restoring his former stipend. You had accordingly given orders to Mr. Ibbetson, the Resident at Singapore, if the resistance of the Ex King should continue, to effect his compulsory removal, not to Penang but to Malacca, residence at which place he was to be permitted to during his draw his allowance of 6,000 dollars if removed by force; 10,000 if he should, even at this late period, by a voluntary acquiescence, render the employment of compulsory means unnecessary.

5. On receiving these instructions, Mr. Ibbetson communicated to you his intention personally to superintend the arrangements for the Ex King's removal.

6. Before, however, Mr. Ibbetson had left Singapore for this purpose, he received a letter from Mr. Murchison stating that soon after his arriving at Penang he had "discovered the chief causes from "which the frequent negotiations with the late King "of Quedah to induce him to take up permanent "residence on this Island had proved unavailing:" he "therefore perceived that by a little manage-"ment" that object might be accomplished: "it is "not necessary" (he says) "to trouble" Mr. Ibbetson "either with a recapitulation of these causes, or with "any detailed account of the measures by which the late "King's confidence and good will towards the British "Government were gradually restored: it will suffice "to report that after a few personal interviews he

" very cordially embraced the proposals he had so fre-
" quently rejected, and has now distinctly accepted the
" terms offered by this Government on the condition
" of his residing permanently on the Island."

* * * * * *

Capture of Quedah by a strong party of Malays headed by the noted pirate Tuanko Kudin. Proceedings in consequence.

Subsequent recapture of Quedah by the Rajah of Ligore.

11. There are several unpleasant circumstances connected with these events. In an act of aggression upon a State not only at peace with us, but which we were bound by express Treaty not to suffer any persons under our authority to molest, a great number of our own subjects took part: among others about thirty disbanded Sepoys dressed in the British uniform. It appears also that some of the boats composing the flotilla were collected from Prince of Wales Island; and Captain Low states in express terms that " the ammunition, cartouch boxes and other warlike stores for the expedition have been purchased in Penang." Yet no British authority had the slightest suspicion of what was going on until the expedition had set out.

12. Further, the leaders in the expedition were the nearest relations of the Ex King of Quedah; and there is no room for doubt that their proceedings were greatly encouraged and facilitated by the Ex King's residence in Penang and in Province Wellesley, which we were expressly bound by Treaty to prevent; if indeed the aggression was not actually stirred up by himself, under favor of those opportunities. And the restoration of his pension and of all the marks of favor which he had formerly enjoyed, happening at the precise moment when it did, is confidently asserted by Mr. Ibbetson to have promoted the objects of the expedition more than would have been done by " an actual supply of 6,000 dollars to Tuanko Kudin " by the Ex King.

13. Under these circumstances the local authorities had absolutely no option; and they accordingly removed the Ex King to Malacca; in which removal, knowing that force would be employed in case of refusal, he quietly acquiesced. But this did not cure the mischief which had been already done.

14. In order to make amends to the Siamese Authorities for our neglect of the obligations of the Treaty, and to remove the unfavorable impression which that omission must have produced upon their minds, Mr. Ibbetson thought it incumbent upon him to aid the recapture of the place by blockading the mouth of the river. Your instructions discouraged any attempt on the part of the local authorities of Prince of Wales Island to mix themselves "up in "any operations of a hostile character either by land "or sea," but those instructions did not arrive until all was over, the Siamese having retaken Quedah, aided by our co-operation to that extent. The case was unquestionably one of conflicting obligations, but it is much to be regretted that by our own default we should have been placed in a position from which we could not extricate ourselves but by giving our assistance to replace the Malays of Quedah under the yoke of a government which from all that we learn appears to be most deservedly odious to them.

* * * * * *

We are

Your affectionate friends

(Signed) J. G. Ravenshaw
&ca. &ca.

London
21 November 1832.

Bengal Dispatches, vol. 123, pp. 249-55.

26 June No. 10 of 1833.

Bengal
Political Department.

* * * * * *

Settlement of the disputes about Quedah.

2. We trust that the settlement which now appears to be effected, of the causes which disturbed the good understanding of the authorities in Prince of Wales Island and Siam, will be permanent. You have done what the obligations of Treaty required of you in removing the Ex Rajah of Quedah to a place not directly contiguous to his former territory, the peace of which he had disturbed; and you have dealt with sufficient liberality by him, in restoring him to the enjoyment of his full stipend of 10,000 Dollars per annum.

3. It was of importance, with a view to prevent future disputes, that the boundary of Province Wellesley should be well defined, an object which Mr. Ibbetson appears to have successfully negociated with the Rajah of Ligore.

* * * * * *

We are,

Your affectionate friends,

(Signed) C. Marjoribanks
&ca,

London
26th June 1833.

Printed for private circulation.

THE

BURNEY PAPERS.

Vol. IV.

PART 2.

(March 1841 to December 1846.)

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BANGKOK

1913.

TT-C-48

India and Bengal
Letters Received,
Vol. 28.

Political Department.

To the Honorable the Court of Directors
of the East India Company.

Honorable Sirs,

We take this opportunity to lay before your Honorable Court copies of a dispatch from the Governor of the Straits and of Minutes recorded by the Right Honorable the Governor General and by Mr. Amos, with other papers in connexion therewith, regarding the case of Taunkoo Mahomed Saad (a relative of the Ex Ruler of Quedah) who your Honorable Court may remember was one of the leaders in the enterprize for regaining possession of that country from the Siamese in 1838, and who on the failure of that insurrectionary movement escaped and appears to have subsequently entered on a career of predatory violence of the most atrocious character.

2. Taunkoo Mahomed Saad was captured in the month of July last year, and arraigned before the Supreme Court of Penang on a charge of piracy committed on a vessel belonging to a subject of our Government. The prosecution having failed on the plea that as a descendant of the Ex Rajah of Quedah the prisoner was at war with Siam and consequently with the British Government, the ally of that State, and therefore that the act with which he was charged, if proved, was not the act of a pirate but that of an enemy, Mr. Bonham considered it his duty, under these circumstances to send Taunkoo Mahomed Saad, as a State prisoner to Calcutta on board the Diana steamer, to be dealt with as might seem expedient to the Supreme Government. On the arrival of the prisoner we took into consideration the question as to the course proper to be pursued in regard to him, and the result of our deliberations was as follows.

3. We were of opinion that although Taunkoo Mahomed Saad had been acquitted of the charge of

piracy on the plea adduced, his release from confinement might again expose the subjects of the British Government and those of other friendly powers in the Straits to his depredations, and we conceived that it was a duty imperative upon us to provide against such a contingency. Entertaining this view of the matter we decided that Taunkoo Mahomed Saad, without being subject to rigorous restraint, should be placed under such restrictions as might prevent his leaving Bengal without the knowledge and consent of the Government. In pursuance of this determination, it was resolved that he should reside at Moorshedabad under surveillance of the Magistrate, a monthly allowance of about 50 Rs. being assigned for the support of the prisoner and his followers.

4. Before concluding this letter, we may mention that some time after the arrival here of Taunkoo Mahomed Saad and while the Diana was within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, a writ of Habeas Corpus was issued in favor of the prisoner on the motion of one of the Barristers of that Court.

5. Our resolution however regarding the prisoner having been taken and his removal at his own request from the Diana into the vessel which was to convey him to Moorshedabad having been effected anterior to the serving of the writ, the Government and its officers were placed under no legal obligation arising from the process of the Court to induce a departure from the course which was thought best for the public interests to pursue in this case.

6. Taunkoo Mahomed Saad, accompanied by his son, has reached his destination and has been taken charge of by the Magistrate of Moorshedabad.

We have &ca.

(Signed) Auckland

&ca. &ca. &ca.

Fort William
the 18th of March 1841.

India and Bengal Despatches, vol. 29.

[To the Government of India, Fort William.]

India

Political Department.

Case of Tuanku Mahomed Saad.

* *See Ind. and Bengal Letters Received, Vol. 28.*

* *Not copied.*

1. We now reply to your political letters dated 18th March* and 9th May* 1841, respecting the case of Tuanku Mahomed Saad.

2. This individual, a nephew of the Ex-King of Kedah, was the leader of the expedition which in 1838 temporarily expelled the Siamese from that place. After his expulsion from Kedah, Tuanku Mahomed Saad engaged in a course of depredation by sea, which terminated in his falling into the hands of the British Authorities, and being brought to Penang, when on the prosecution of an inhabitant of Penang, whose boat he had plundered, he was put on his trial for piracy before the Recorder, but was acquitted on the ground that he was an alien, in a state of war not only with Siam but with the British Government, and in committing depredations on British subjects had exercised the rights of acknowledged warfare.

3. We are not called upon to express any opinion on the correctness of this decision, which has been passed by a Court of competent authority. The accused being placed by it in the position of a prisoner of war, Mr. Bonham, without previous reference to you, sent him to Bengal, as a place where his safe custody could be provided for with less hardship to himself than in the Straits, and although this should not have been done without your previous sanction, we are inclined to think that the arrangement is a beneficial one, and we approve of your having placed Tuanku Mahomed Saad under the surveillance of the Magistrate of Moorshedabad, with a small monthly allowance for his support and that of his followers.

4. If any relative or dependant of the Ex Rajah should hereafter engage in similar courses,

he will of course on the principles laid down by the Recorder, be treated as a public enemy, and when taken, as a prisoner of war; unless the case should be such as under the following passage of the Recorder's address would afford a prospect of a conviction for piracy.

"He by no means intended to say that every "Malay inhabitant of India who could contrive to fit "out a prow was at liberty to cruize about and cap- "ture any property belonging to subjects of Siam or "of this Government which might fall in his way, "without fear of incurring the guilt and punishment "of piracy. In every such case a piratical intention "must necessarily be presumed until the contrary was "shown by the clearest evidence of a combined national "object, and an authority or commission from some "person or persons who had an indisputable right to "grant it."

5. We have received an elaborate paper from Lieutenant Colonel Burney containing a review of the entire history of our connection with Kedah. We transmit to you a copy of this valuable paper, and of a communication which we have recently received from Mr. Anderson, formerly of our Civil Service.

6. We observe that you have called upon the Governor of the Settlements to report his opinion on the possibility and expediency of effecting an arrangement for the return of the Ex Rajah to Kedah, and we shall be anxious to hear your further proceedings on this subject.

7. There is one further point of which it is imperative upon us to take notice. Captain Stewart, the officer to whom Tuanku Mahomed Saad surrendered himself a prisoner, being interrogated as a witness before the Recorder's Court, as to the inducements by which that individual was led to give himself up, made the following statement.

"I told him that if he would come to Penang "the Government would protect him from all his "enemies."

"What! did Mr. Salmond authorize you to make "that promise?"

"Yes, I was instructed to do so by Mr .Salmond."

* * * * * *

8. We feel much surprised that you should not have required Mr. Bonham to call upon his subordinate Mr. Salmond, the Resident Councillor at Penang, for an explanation of the statement thus made upon oath by Captain Stewart, which is calculated to give the painful impression that at least a constructive breach of faith has been committed towards Tuanku Mahomed Saad. The assurance which Captain Stewart represents himself to have given by Mr. Salmond's authority that the Government would "protect" Tuanku Mahomed Saad "from all his enemies" would have been most improper even to an avowed belligerent and was in the highest degree censurable when given to a person who was regarded as a pirate. It was by no means an easy question what was the least objectionable interpretation which could under the circumstances of the case be put upon the general terms of such a promise, but we have Captain Stewart's own impression as stated by himself, that the promise as understood by the person to whom it was given, has not been kept.

9. We desire that these sentiments be immediately communicated to Mr. Bonham and that any explanation which that gentleman or Mr. Salmond may have to offer be transmitted to us without delay, that we may understand the real character of the proceedings connected with the capture and custody of Tuanku Mahomed Saad; and if those proceedings were of the character represented by Captain Stewart,

we direct that Tuanku Mahomed be set at liberty, and allowed to return to Penang, and that you admonish him to abstain hereafter from predatory courses, and not to renew hostilities with the British Government or its allies.

We are

Your affectionate Friends,

(Signed). G. Lyall

&ca. &ca. &ca.

London
31st December 1841.

India Political Consultations. Range 195, Vol. 52.

Fort William 1st March 1841.

No. 83.

To T. H. Maddock Esquire,
Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

Adverting to my letter of the 30th of July* 1838, and to the reply received from your office under date the 20th September* following I have now the honor to advise you that Tuanku Mahomed Saad was captured by a gun boat on the 2nd July last and brought to Penang.

* See this series, range 194, Vol. 75.
* 7 36 Sept.

2. Shortly after his capture he was committed by the magistrates to take his trial on a charge of piracy, the result of which was an acquittal, the prisoner having pleaded in bar to the indictment that as a descendant of the Ex Governor of Keddah he was at war with Siam and in consequence with the British Government, the ally of that Power, and therefore the act with which he stood charged, if proved, was not the act of a pirate but that of an enemy. This plea it appears was considered to be proved and sufficient, and he Court of Judicature permitted him to be taken from the bar by the Executive authorities, who had been previously instructed by me to demand him as an enemy of the British Government.

3. The Learned Recorder having presided at the trial it is not my desire at present to animadvert on the proceedings of the Court more especially as I shall shortly have the honor to submit a report of the trial which has been promised me by the Recorder but which I have not yet received, but I think the depositions will afford tolerable proof of the nature and character of Tuanku Mahomed Saad's proceedings. These have however been declared by a competent authority not to amount to piracy, but in my humble

judgment it would with the proceedings before me be highly imprudent to release him.

4. The Government will be aware that in 1821 the Siamese invaded and captured Keddah and at the same time some of the family of the Ex Raja at present at Malacca. Among them was this very individual, Tuanku Mahomed Saad, and he and some others of his relations were afterwards released by the Siamese Government through the intervention of Captain Burney, who was sent on a Mission to that Court shortly after the capture of Keddah, the British Government in return stipulating "that the former Govor (the Ex King) nor any of his followers should not attack or disturb Keddah."

5th. This Treaty has always been much disapproved of by the British inhabitants of this Settlement of which the Malays are fully aware and after the proceedings which have taken place in Court, wherein it has been endeavoured to make it appear that Tuanku Mahomed Saad's acts, instead of being even of a questionable nature, were highly praiseworthy and patriotic, I have no doubt whatever that were he released he could immediately, under the pretence of making war on Keddah, again commence on the same system of pillage which he has pursued for these past three years.

6. Under these circumstances therefore, seeing that in all probability Tuanku Mahomed Saad is alive through our intervention alone, which he has repaid by making war on the British Government and and on its ally, and that there is no reasonable ground to suppose were he released, that he would endeavour to obtain a livelihood by honest industry, and lastly that it is desirable to show others of the Ex King's family and the inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island generally, that though Tuanku Mahomed Saad has been acquitted of piracy, the British Government

has the means and power to punish him for plundering Her Majesty's subjects. I have considered it my duty to send Tuanku Mahomed Saad to Calcutta as a State prisoner to be dealt with as may appear proper to the superior judgment of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council.

7. I should have preferred deferring to send Tuanku Mahomed Saad to Calcutta until I could forward the Recorder's account of the trial, but as an opportunity offers of doing so by the steamer Diana I have thought it advisable to do so at once.

8. I may as well remark that had I been personally at Penang it is probable that Tuanku Mahomed Saad would not have been tried, as I was not unaware of the difficulties likely to arise to prevent a conviction, but as will be seen by the depositions a clear statement of an act of violence said to have taken place only a short time before his apprehension was made out against him, and the aggrieved party having made his complaint to the magisterial authorities, it was not unreasonable for those authorities to put him on his trial, which though it has ended in an acquittal on the score of piracy has yet by the plea of Tuanku Mahomed Saad himself put it beyond doubt that he was in arms against the Siamese and the British Governments.

9th. I have been further induced to send Tuanku Mahomed Saad to Calcutta out of some consideration for himself and his family. As regards himself if detained in the Straits, he cannot but be kept in close confinement, while in the interior of the country in Bengal no further restriction will be necessary than what can ordinarily be bestowed on him by the police, and as regards his family some attention is due to their feelings. The Ex King himself is very desirous that Tuanku Mahomed Saad should be removed from the Straits and if he had his will be would send others of Tuanku Mahomed Saad's

followers also, for he informs me he is not altogether without hope that he may be eventually permitted to return to Keddah and he conceives, and with some justice, that these constant outbreaks of his family and dependents, arising whether from patriotic or predatory motives cannot prove otherwise than prejudicial to his interests.

10. Tuanku Mahomed Saad is accompanied by his child and two attendants, the latter can either be returned to the Straits in the Diana or be set at large as suits their convenience.

I have &ca.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham
Governor Prince of Wales Island
Singapore and Malacca.

Prince of Wales Island,
26th January 1841.

India Political Consultations, Range 195, Vol. 57.

Fort William the 7th June 1841.

No. 99

Political Department.

To T. H. Maddock, Esqr.
Secretary to Government,
Fort William.

Sir,

Adverting to my letter of the 26 ultimo* wherein I promised to forward a Report of the Trial held in the Court of Judicature at Prince of Wales Island in the Cause of the Queen *vs.* Tuanku Mahomed Saad, for piracy, I have now the honor to submit a pamphlet containing an account of the trial.

* *Copied from Vol. 52 of this series.*

2. When Tuanku Mahomed Saad was tried for this piracy I was not at Penang, and the Recorder immediately on the close of the Session proceeded to Singapore. On his arrival at that place I asked him for a report of the trial, and he referred me to the public prints, and as soon as they reached me I requested him to say if their contents were, generally speaking, sufficiently accurate for public purposes, and having been informed that the contents of these papers are substantially correct, I venture to submit them in a condensed shape for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council.

3. The prisoner, Tuanku Mahomed Saad, having been tried and acquitted of piracy, I am not aware that it would be either useful or politic to pursue this matter any further, but I confess I fear from the unusual manner in which this trial appears to me to have been conducted, the abuse and declamatory invective the agents for the prisoner were permitted to indulge in, and other circumstances which will appear in the papers themselves, that it is not improbable that another outbreak on the part of the Malays may take place.

4. The country of Keddah has however been so ravaged by the Malays, who while it was in their possession, laid waste the whole country, taking from it elephants, cattle, grain, indeed every thing, that was removeable to a ready market at Penang and Province Wellesley, that I do not think there is at present any inducement for such an aggression, but it cannot be concealed that so long as the doctrine that it is highly praiseworthy for the nephews of the Ex Rajah to attack our ally of Siam from our own shores is upheld, it is impossible to say how long so tempting a means of enriching themselves by spoliation and rapine will be allowed to pass unheeded; for if Tuanku Mahomed Saad, who is the mere nephew of the Ex Rajah, has a right to make war on Siam, and in so doing to capture and plunder vessels and boats belonging to the Siamese or English and is considered not to be liable to any punishment save that of an enemy, all the other nephews and relations of the Ex Rajah have a similar right to embark in the same cause; which any person who is at all acquainted with the Malay character will be perfectly aware will only be a cloak for rapine and bloodshed.

5. In the summing up of the learned Recorder he appears to have said, "that even if Tuanku Mahomed Saad had acted in opposition to the will of the Ex Rajah in the attack on Keddah, he was authorised to do so," and hence it follows that any others of the nephews of the Ex Rajah, when they can collect a couple of hundred vagabonds, may also proceed against Keddah for the same purpose, where under the cloak of patriotism they may commit all sorts of acts of violence as were indeed committed by Tuanku Mahomed Saad, as will more fully appear by reference to the depositions and other papers forwarded in my letter of the 26th ultimo. To ascertain if such was really Sir William Norris's opinion, I asked him in my letter of the 23rd December, whether should such

persons hereafter act as Tuanku Mahomed Saad has acted and proceed from hence to attack Keddah they would not, in his judgment, come within the operation of the provisions of Act X of 1839, and to which the learned Recorder had alluded in his summing up; and had stated it to have been passed with reference to the contest existing between the Siamese and Malayan inhabitants of the British Settlement. This question however he was evaded answering directly, but it is one that manifestly ought not to be left in doubt, more especially as it is well known here, that the result of the trial, the invective that has been levelled against the Government, and the congratulations of the Recorder to the prisoners on their acquittal, have conjointly induced a belief that Tuanku Mahomed Saad was not only perfectly justified in his proceedings, but that they were highly praiseworthy.

6. For many months before this trial took place, the local press at Penang was teeming with the enormities said to have been committed by Tuanku Mahomed Saad and specimens of which I enclose. The third paragraph of the learned Recorder alludes to this circumstance and attempts to explain it, but I must respectfully record my opinion that the many instances of depredation imputed to Tuanku Mahomed Saad, were true; the fact is, Mr. Balhetchet, the prisoner's Law Agent, was formerly a partner of the present Editor, over whom he is understood to have complete control, it was therefore very easy for Mr. Balhetchet to induce the editor to give to this transaction any colour that suited his, Mr. Balhetchet's views. I must apologize to His Lordship for intruding on his valuable time with comments on the editorial productions of the Straits Press, but the circumstance may tend to throw some light on the subject, and why so suddenly one who had heretofore been branded with all sorts of infamy should, so

suddenly, be converted into a patriot.

7. I may as well in justice to the Ex Rajah state that he positively denies all participation or concurrence in Tuanku Mahomed Saad's proceedings, in fact he was fearful that from the evidence of Mahomed Shakeeff, his sons might on his decease be excluded from the benefit of the pension he himself personally enjoys, and Tuanku Abdoolla, the eldest son of the Ex King has informed me he was not in Court when Mahomed Shakeeff gave his evidence, or he should have corrected him.

8. The Recorder added the postscript to his letter * in consequence of my informing him, after seeing his reply, that I did not consider the prosecution of Tuanku Mahomed Saad a Government prosecution more than any other criminal prosecution, and that had I done so I should have moved the Court either for a special Jury, or that the trial might be held at Singapore, where there was less chance of bias than at Penang from whence it is admitted Tuanku Mahomed Saad was supplied with arms and ammunition which were paid for by bullocks and grain and other moveables plundered from the Siamese and Malays of Keddah indiscriminately.

* *See infra.*

9. As I have some papers by me which I collected when the hostilities adverted to in this trial were going on, I enclose them* for the information of Government, as declaratory of the opinions of the Indian administration under the Earl of Minto and the Marquis of Hastings, respecting Keddah, and of its being tributary and subject to Siam.

* *These enclosures are not copied.*

* * * * * *

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham,
Governor Prince of Wales
Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Prince of Wales Island
27 February 1841.

India Political Consultations, Range 195, Vol. 57.

Fort William the 7th June 1841.

No. 100.

To the Honorable Sir W. Norris, Kt.
Recorder &ca. &ca. &ca.
Prince of Wales Island.

Sir,

Adverting to the personal communication that I had the honor of holding with you when recently at Singapore on the subject of the trial of Tuanku Mahomed Saad, which took place at the last Session held at Penang, I have now the honor to enclose for your inspection the Penang newspapers to which you referred me for an accounnt of what had transpired on that occasion; but as in my report to the Supreme Government of India relative to this matter, it will be expected that I should furnish information more to be relied on than what is usually to be obtained in an ordinary newspaper and more especially so, should that high authority by accident ever have noticed the very different description the editor of that paper now gives of Tuanku Mahomed Saad and his proceedings from what he has done on former occasions, I have the honor to request that you will do me the favor of saying if the evidence of Mr. Salmond, Mahomed Shakaff, Che Buang, Tuanku Abdullah, Mr. W. T. Lewis, Mr. J. Rodyk, junior, Sandagar Pooteh and Captain Stewart, who were it seems produced on the part of the defence "in special plea in bar", is substantially correct.

2dly. If the summing up of the Court through yourself is also substantially correct.

3dly. If any witnesses were called for by the Court, or offered by Government or Imaum Hadgee Hussain, the prosecutor under the Crown, to disprove or explain the statements made by the prisoner's witnesses.

4thly. Whether the Court saw fit to call on the executive authorities at Penang for an explanation as to the situation in which the British Government stood in relation to Siam and to the state of Keddah (in the same manner as the Supreme Court in Calcutta called on the Supreme Government in the case of the Malay pirates, and the Court of Judicature here, in a similar manner in the case of Illanoon pirates,) if not, whether the acquittal by the petty jury was grounded on the evidence produced by the prisoner himself solely, and

5thly. Whether should Tuanku Mahomed Taib and Tuanku Snawee, who are at present at large and residing at Penang, forthwith proceed to again attack Keddah, it is to be understood that they will not be amenable to the Court of Judicature for acts of violence, if committed on Penang-born or other British subjects while in the execution of that enterprise, and if not, whether as foreign Princes residing at Penang, they can be considered as liable to be indicted under the provisions of Act X of 1839.

I must apologize for what may appear, and undoubtedly would be under ordinary circumstances, an uncalled for intrusion, and had I the means of procuring the information from any authentic source other than yourself I should undoubtedly do so, for as far as I can judge the Government officers at Penang appear to have considered the prosecution against Tuanku Mahomed Saad of the ordinary nature and not one in which they were particularly interested; at all events I have been unable to procure any report of the trial beyond that it did take place and that the prisoners were acquitted.

The last question which I have taken the liberty of asking originates in a desire to submit the whole question to Government, that should it be told that the descendants of the family of the Ex King may,

though residing at Penang (as was the case when the late predatory attack was made on Keddah by Tuanku Mahomed Saad and others), still continue to wage war against Keddah in contravention of Act X of 1839, with impunity, and that persons of this description are not considered as comprised under the general head "Whoever" which I have marked in the Act, the Supreme Government may, should it see fit to do so, pass such explanatory act as may appear necessary to carry into the effect obvious intentions of the Act above-mentioned.

As I am not aware that any of the descendants of the late King have been engaged in civil suits at Penang when you were present, I think it right to inform you that when you were absent the witness Tuanku Abdullah, against whom process had been taken out in the Court, was concealing himself from his creditors for fear of being apprehended for debt, and further that with the exception of the Ex King himself, all the family have heretofore been considered and made amenable to the Court of Judicature in its ordinary Civil Jurisdiction.

I have &ca.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham

Governor.

Singapore
23d December 1840.

India Political Consultations, Range 195, Vol. 57.

No. 100.

Fort William the 7th June 1841.

To the Honble. S. G. Bonham Esqre.,
Governor &ca. &ca &ca.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ultimo,* enclosing for my inspection the Penang Newspapers to which, when at Singapore, I took the liberty in the absence of my manuscript notes, to refer you, as being likely to contain a more detailed account of the trial of Tuanku Mahomed Saad than I had then the means of affording you.

*See ante.

Since my arrival here I have compared the report in these papers with my own notes, and have now the honor to inform you, in answer to your two first queries, that the printed report of the evidence of Mr. Salmond, Mahomed Shakaff, Che Buang, Tuanku Abdullah, Mr. W. T. Lewis, Mr. J Rodyk, junior, Saudagur Pooteh and Captain Stewart, witnesses for the defence, as also the report of the summing up of the Court through myself, are with one exception, viz. that the words "March 1840" in Mr. Rodyk's evidence should be "March 1839," substantially correct. I should observe, however, that what is reported to have fallen from myself after the acquittal, as to the restoration of the prisoner's property, is not quite accurate, for I expressed a doubt whether as a prisoner of war he was in a situation to make the demand; but on this point I must beg to refer you to my correspondence with the Honble. the Resident Councillor.

With the comments and opinions of the editor I have of course no concern and cannot be supposed to feel personally much flattered by commendations from a quarter whence, in common with yourself, I have occasionally received a sufficient share of abuse; nor

should I have thought it necessary to advert to the subject but for your observation, which I believe to be perfectly correct, as to the very different "account which the Editor now gives of Tuanku Mahomed Saad and his proceedings from what he has done on former occasions," and my impression that the executive authorities were thereby unjustly prejudiced against him, (more especially as the editor has subsequently intimated that he had himself been made the dupe of interested parties) and might possibly, but for such exaggerated reports, have doubted the expediency of committing him for trial.

In returning an answer in the negative to your third enquiry "whether any witnesses were called for by the Court or offered by the Government or Emaun Hadgee Hussain, the Prosecutor under the Crown, to disprove or explain the statements made by the prisoner's witnesses," I have only to observe, that the Government and the prosecutor were at perfect liberty and had ample time and opportunity to have done so had they seen fit, but that the Court saw no occasion to do so, judging [by] the depositions before the Magistrate that the evidence for the Crown must rather have tended to confirm than to invalidate the defence, evincing as those depositions do, that the object of the prisoner was to obtain warlike stores for the renewal of hostilities against the Siamese Government of Keddah, and not to carry on such a system of indiscriminate plunder as could properly be termed piratical.

With regard to the former part of your fourth enquiry, viz. whether the Court saw fit to call on the Executive Authorities at Penang for an explanation as to the situation in which the British Government stood in relation to Siam and the state of Quedah (in the same manner as the Supreme Court in Calcutta called on the Supreme Government in the case of the Malay pirates and the Court of Judicature here in a similar manner in the case of the Illanoon

pirates) I have no hesitation in acknowledging that, had there existed in the present instance the same reasons which suggested in those cases the cautious and humane proceedings referred to, the Court would ill have understood its duty in neglecting to pursue a similar course of enquiry. But I cannot, I confess, perceive the analogy which you seem to have thought discoverable between the case of Tuanku Mahomed Saad and those of the pirates referred to. In both the latter cases, each the first of its kind which had come before the Courts, considerable doubt existed in the minds of the judges as to the popular nctions and habits of the half savages who were brought up for trial, regarding the description of crime laid to their charge, the degree of countenance and support afforded to their predatory adventures by their respective sovereigns, and the actual relations of war or peace existing between the respective nations or communities of the prosecutors and the accused. These cousiderations, combined with the extreme ignorance of the accused in respect both to our laws and forms of procedure and the mode of bringing forward even had they possessed (which they could scarcely be supposed to do) the means of establishing a possibly good defence, suggested the urgent expediency of making the enquiries referred to, not merely on grounds of humanity and justice to the accused, but as a necessary preliminary to the safe and proper exercise of the Court's jurisdiction in those and future cases of the same description. But in the case of Tuanku Mahomed Saad no such considerations presented themselves. The prisoner was ably defended, and the main point of his defence viz. his possession and actual government of Keddah for many months, his expulsion from thence by the British and Siamese authorities, and the continuation of hostilities between him and them up to March last, if not to the very moment of the capture charged in the indictment, were proved by the evidence of Captain Stewart and others too

clearly to leave a doubt upon the subject. Neither for its own satisfaction, therefore, nor in justice to the accused did the Court feel itself called upon to seek further information from the executive authorities on the points you mention, and scarcely would it have been justified in volunteering to call upon the Government, especially in a government prosecution, as this essentially was, for evidence to rebut or explain away a defence, the substantial truth of which there was no apparent reason to doubt.

The concluding portion of your further enquiry, viz. "whether the acquittal by the petty jury was grounded on the evidence produced by the prisoner himself solely" is already, you will observe, in part answered by my reply to your third query, but as the question seems to convey an implied imputation upon the Court for allowing a supposed undue advantage to the prisoner, it becomes indispensable to enter a little more into detail. With one exception, certainly, which I shall presently mention, the acquittal was grounded on the evidence produced by the prisoner himself solely; but that exception was a remarkable one. I mean the letter from the Ex King to yourself handed in by Mr. Lewis, by your own desire as alleged, and accordingly received in evidence against the prisoner. It is moreover worthy of especial observation, that one half and by far the most important of the eight witnesses, though called by the prisoner himself, were government functionaries, and precisely those functionaries who might be supposed from their situations to have been best qualified to give all needful information as to any circumstances, had such existed, tending to disprove or explain away the defence, or to disabuse the minds of the Court or Jury of any undue prejudices which they might be supposed to have imbibed in favour of the prisoner, nor can it be said that they were taken

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* See N. B. at the end.

by surprise, the subpœnas having gone out many days before the trial, and the nature of the defence being fully disclosed in the plea filed and the arguments urged on behalf of the prisoner an entire week before. But it may be said perhaps, that the special plea in bar ought to have been disallowed and the prisoner compelled to plead the general issue, by which means the evidence for the prosecution would, in the first instance, have come before the Court and Jury, who would thus have been better enabled to decide whether the act charged, if committed at all, was done with a piratical intention or by way of hostile reprisal. And it may, possibly, be further urged, with reference to certain observations of my own in my charge to the Grand Jury, that, by this means, evidence of other imputed acts of the same description might have been let in as further illustrative of the prisoner's piratical intentions. Now as to the last suggestion, I shall content myself for the present with observing that, although when the three bills against the prisoner were sent in together to the Grand Jury, I thought myself justified in informing them that they were not precluded in my opinion from judging of the intention in each case by the cumulative evidence on the whole, I am by no means satisfied as yet that the witnesses for the prosecution in one case could have been legally called upon [at] the trial in support of another one distinct charge, though of the same description. But even had such evidence been legally admissible, it was not likely, in my opinion, to have been of any avail; the Grand Jury having thrown out one of the three bills, and the prosecutors in the remaining two (as well as in the one thrown out) being both British subjects, on whom the prisoner was justified in making reprisals. It may still, nevertheless, be contended, perhaps, that the evidence for the prosecution in the particular case before the Court ought at all events to have been called. Even this, however, I am not prepared to admit as a general rule (for the authorities are not clear upon the subject) nor were

there, in my opinion, any special circumstances in the case to justify the Court in compelling the prisoner to plead the general issue. And finally, upon this subject, I may add that even had the general issue been pleaded, and the evidence for the Crown in this case heard, it is my conscientious belief, as I have already intimated, that so far from impugning, it would (unless itself invalidated by materially varying from the depositions) have only corroborated the defence.

With regard to your last enquiry, as the proper answer to it would depend upon the particular circumstances of the case, should it ever happen, and there does not appear to be any immediate necessity for my deciding a question which may never come into practical operation, or, if it does, would in all probability be brought before me judicially, I trust you will excuse my declining for the present to express any opinion upon the subject.

I thank you for your information regarding the descendants of the Ex King of whose situation and apparently distressed circumstances I was not before aware.

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) W. Norris
Recorder

Penang
25 January 1841.

N.B. In describing the above case as a "Government Prosecution" I refer simply to the *interest* which the Government must necessarily have had in the political questions involved; not that this more than other criminal trials was directed or carried on by the Government.

(Signed) W. N.

India Political Consultations, Range 195, Vol. 52.

Fort William 1st March 1841.

No. 92.

Resolution.

Read a letter from the Governor of Prince of Wales Island Singapore and Malacca of 26th ultimo,* adverting to former correspondence and reporting that Tuanku Mahomed Saad, having been captured on the 2d of July and brought to Penang, was arraigned before the Supreme Court of that Island on a charge of piracy and acquitted on the plea that as a descendant of the Ex Governor of Keddah he was at war with Siam, and in consequence with the British Government, the ally of that State; and therefore that the act with which he was charged if proved was not the act of a pirate but that of an enemy; that the Court then permitted the executive officers to take the prisoner into their own custody and that the Governor considered it his duty to send Tuanku Mahomed Saad as a State prisoner to Calcutta on board the Diana steamer to be dealt with as may seem proper to the Supreme Government.

* *26 January,* *See ante in this vol.*

The arrival of the Diana steamer with the prisoner on board having been this day reported, the secretary is directed, with reference to the proceedings of the late trial at Penang, to draw up a statement of the past transactions of the British Government with the former rulers of Keddah for transmission to the home authorities, and in the mean time the Governor General in Council considers that although Tuanku Mahomed Saad has been acquitted of the charge of piracy on the plea adduced his release from confinement might again render the subjects of the British Government and other friendly powers in the Straits liable to his depredations, and that it is the duty of this Government to provide against such a contingency. The Governor General in Council does not however think it needful to place Tuanku Mahomed Saad under

rigorous restraint. It may be sufficient that he should be placed under such restrictions as may prevent his leaving Bengal without the knowledge and consent of Government. If the station of Berhampore is selected for his residence and a monthly allowance of about 50 * is granted for his support and that of the followers who have accompanied him, little more surveillance will be necessary than that he should show himself once every day to the magistrate at that station and that the magistrate should report to Government any circumstances regarding him calling for special notice.

* *Sic. ? rupees.*

* * * * * *

I have &ca.

(Signed) T. H. Maddock

Secretary to the Government

of India.

Fort William
1st March 1841.

India Political Cousultations, Range 195. Vol. 57.

No. 104.

Fort William the 7th June 1841.

To the Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

S. G. Bonham Esquire.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch dated the 27th February last,* containing your observations on the late trial at Penang of Tuanku Mahomed Saad, with several papers connected with that subject.

* *See ante.*

2. The particulars of this case, as gathered from your letter of the 26th of January* and other sources, have already been reported to the authorities in England, and the Governor General in Council would desire to postpone any observations which it may appear to call for till the sentiments of those authorities shall have been ascertained.

* *See Vol. 52 of this series.*

3. I am further directed to transmit for your information a copy of the letter to my address from Mr. Anderson,* with its enclosure in original,* being a letter from the Ex Rajah of Quedah, and his Lordship in Council requests to be informed what probability exists of the Siamese Government permitting the return of the Rajah to Queda, on terms which would enable him to carry on the government with advantage, with your own sentiments on the expediency of our encouraging such an arrangement, and on its probable effects on our own possessions and those Native States in that neighbourhood.

* *These do not appear to exist.*

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) T. H. Maddock
Secretary to Government of India.

Fort William
the 31 May 1841.

India Political Consultations. Range 195, Vol. 61.

No. 6.

Fort William 23d August 1841.

To T. H. Maddock Esquire,
Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31 May* with its enclosure, being a letter in original from the Ex Governor of Keddah to Mr. W. Anderson of Calcutta, and desiring to be informed of the probability that exists of the Siamese Government permitting the Ex Governor to return to Keddah and to the expediency of encouraging such an arrangement.

* See Vol. 57 of this series.

2. In reply I have the pleasure to observe that previously to the receipt of your communication I had received numerous applications from the Ex Rajah to be permitted to proceed to Penang for the purpose of being nearer to the Siamese authorities, whereby in his opinion, opportunities would be afforded him of carrying on with greater facility than from Malacca certain negotiations, by which he appears to think he would be enabled to make arrangements for being permitted to return to Keddah. To this application I gave no encouragement, and he was simply informed that agreeably to the Treaty between the Siamese and English Governments, he could not be permitted to reside at Penang, and he was further referred to a communication which he had received from the Right Honorable Lord William Bentinck on this subject, in reply to a similar requisition which he had on a former occasion made to His Lordship.

3. The Ex Rajah then proposed to depute one of his sons to Siam for the purpose of laying his claims before the King, alleging that he had been recommended to take this course by the Rajas of Ligor and

Singora, which places form a portion of the Siamese Kingdom, and are districts adjoining Keddah, and requested me to afford him pecuniary aid for this purpose. Not being altogether satisfied that the result of such an application would be successful, I declined making this advance, but it appearing to me from your letter of the 29th March last,* which reached me subsequently to my refusal, that it is in the contemplation of Government to restore to the King and his son Tuanku Dye, the full salary of the former, vizt. 10,000 dollars per annum, I, previously to the receipt of your letter now under acknowledgment, promised to advance 500 dollars as an outfit for Tuanku Dye, to enable him to proceed to Siam, and for this purpose I further procured him a passage in the King of Siam's ship "Success" which left this port yesterday.

* *not copied.*

4. Had I received your letter previously to having made a promise to the Ex King of pecuniary assistance to enable him to send his son Tuanku Dye to Siam, I assuredly without the sanction of Government should not have done so. Nevertheless, I am not aware of any other more desirable means of ascertaining the fact, whether the Siamese will permit the Ex Rajah to return or not, to Keddah than those which have been taken, for if the Siamese Government accede to the Ex Rajah's proposition, the terms on which such permission will be granted will, I have no doubt, be made known to me, and the details can be arranged under the orders of Government at Penang.

5. The result of direct negotiations at Bankok by envoys vested with authority from the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council did not in the case of either Mr. Crawfurd or Major Burney prove very successful, and I personally have very little doubt that any similar attempt, should it again be undertaken, would fail, unless indeed Government was prepared to say that it would place the Ex Rajah again in Keddah, and that any attempt to interfere with his

authority would be considered as an insult to the British Government and resented accordingly. Such a step I presume however cannot be taken so long as the present Treaty between Great Britain and Siam exists, and I confess, I am not aware of any proceedings on the part of the Siamese Court that would justify the measure.

6. Whether the prosperity of Keddah itself would be best consulted by its being under the Siamese or Malay rule is to me problematical. The province is no doubt at present badly managed from its distance from the Capital of the country and from perhaps a moiety of its inhabitants being Mussulmans. Until the late outbreak and attack on Keddah by the Malays, I have no reason to believe that the inhabitants were in any way open to more ill usage or oppression than unhappily exists in all Native Eastern Governments, in fact it is well established that unless when Keddah has been the theatre of dispute between the Siamese and Malays the country has been in a thriving condition, so much so as to be able to export rice in considerable quantities. In 1819/20, when in possession of the Malays, it was estimated to export 500 coyans annually, while in 1836/37 under immediate Siamese control the export was estimated at 757 coyans. During the time of war and intestine revolt the people of Keddah leave the country and fly to Province Wellesley and Penang, but nevertheless a considerable portion return after quiet and peace have been established. On the other hand Keddah has for upwards of $3\frac{1}{2}$ centuries been under the immediate government of a Mohamedan Chief and the larger moiety of the inhabitants are followers of Islam. Hence there is no doubt that the majority of the population would prefer a Mussulman to a Buddhist Government, and of this the Siamese are fully aware as they have lately placed Tuanku Aunoon and Tuanku Hossan, two Malay Chiefs, in charge of the province. But as regards under which of the two Governments

it is most eligible to live, it is difficult to decide; for in reality little is now remembered of the system of the Government and of its workings when Keddah was under the control of the Ex King, but if report speaks truth, he was by no means a merciful ruler, nor does it appear that the country under his administration was in a more flourishing condition than it was previously to the late predatory attack on it by Tuanku Mahomed Saad.

7. The return of the Malay dynasty to Keddah would no doubt in some degree diminish the population of Province Wellesley, for the prestige of a Court, however insignificant, would call together a few Malay Chiefs or probably be the cause of bringing a few into existence, who would be accompanied by some followers and to the extent of their numbers, of course, our population would decrease. To these may be added a few needy adventurers and others of a more active turn of mind, who with the hopes of bettering their condition by any means whatever might be induced to quit the British for a weak Malay Government, where they might enjoy more power and procure more wealth than could be safely used or gotten under a Government where they would be subject to laws more stringently and impartially administered.

8. At the period of Mr. Crawfurd and Major Burney's Missions to Siam comparatively little was known of the history of that country, and the Siamese knew less of England and her Indian resources; since that period however both nations have probably become better acquainted with each others resources and I think I may say, were it not for the present disturbed state of India, that we have as little to fear from the hostility of the Siamese as we have to hope for in the way of co-operation against the common enemy, the Burmese, should it be ever our fate again to be at variance with that State—in fact, a very considerable trade is now car-

ried on between Singapore and Bankok, in which no less than six square rigged vessels, averaging upwards of 400 tons belonging either to the King or some members of the Royal Family, are engaged, which of itself would always afford us an opportunity of punishing them—but with a couple of ships of war and a steamer, Bankok, the capital of Siam itself could be taken and destroyed, and by the blockade of the Menam the trade of the country be entirely annihilated, and of this the Siamese themselves are not unaware. On the other hand, we have as little to expect or to fear from any of the Malay States on the Peninsula, which from some cause or other appear to be crumbling away into entire insignificance, still I cannot help remembering that we hold Prince of Wales Island from a Keddah Rajah, who, to a certain extent, in former days, was treated as an independent Prince, and that it is that Rajah's son whose interests are now the subjects of consideration, and it certainly would be gratifying to all in any way connected with Malayan countries, as well as to the Malayan States themselves, to see the old Rajah restored to a situation from which he appears to all Native States not only to have been unjustly removed, but with the concurrence also, if not with the active assistance, of the English.

9. In considering also the expediency or otherwise of attempting the re-instatement of the Ex Rajah of Keddah, or some of his descendants, it ought to be remembered that so long as Keddah, after what has passed recently at Penang in the case of Tuanku Mahomed Saad remains under immediate Siamese control, there is no security against the recurrence of another outbreak on the part of the Malayan population at Penang for the purpose of plundering Keddah, so soon as that country may have in some degree recovered from the ravages to which it lately has been subjected. This is a state

of things obviously not only highly detrimental to the interests of Keddah itself, but as it tends to keep the minds of the people distracted from their ordinary avocations, so it tends to the disorganization of the poorer classes of the Malayan population on the Island of Penang, over whose minds it exerts a most baneful influence.

10. Until the return of Tuanku Dye it will be out of my power to state the prospect that exists of the Siamese allowing the Ex Rajah to return to Keddah, but he may be expected in about 3 months, when this part of the question will be finally set at rest. As regards the effects that the return of the Ex King of Keddah might have on our own possessions and on those of the Native States in the neighbourhood, I am of opinion that for many years no change will be perceptible though, as already observed, it would tend to raise the British name among the Malays.

* *See 30 June 1841 in this Vol.—infra*

11. I enclose copy of a letter* I furnished to Tuanku Dye on his proceeding to Bankok to the address of the Praklang, who is one of the King's principal ministers, which will, I trust, ensure the Tuanku's personal liberty, and I hope tend to promote the object of his journey.

I have the honour &ca.
(Signed) S. G. Bonham
Governor of Prince of Wales
Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Singapore
The 1st July 1841.

India Political Consultation, Range 195, Vol. 81.

Fort William 23d August 1841.

No. 6 contd.

To His Excellency The Chou Phya Praklang
Prime Minister to His Majesty
the King of Siam.

I have before brought to your Excellency's notice the subject of Keddah, and in a letter dated the 15th September last,* agreeably to instructions received from Europe, I communicated to you for the information of the King that should the Malays again seize on Keddah that the Siamese Government must not look to the English for further assistance in recapturing that country. I also stated that the Siamese Government appeared to attach little importance to possessing it, and therefore recommend that the Siamese should permit the old Governor to return to Keddah in the same position that he held before he was driven out in 1820; to this letter I have as yet received no reply.

* *Not found.*

I now write to inform your Excellency that the Ex-Governor has sent down his son Tuanku Dye and Nephew Tuanku Mahomed Yacob to Singapore as the bearers of a letter to your Excellency and I have obtained a passage for them in the Ship "Success," Captain Triggs. The purport of that letter is to request that he and his family may be permitted to return to Keddah and to govern that country as it was governed by him previously to his removal in 1820.

At present the country of Keddah is managed by two Malay Chiefs, Tuanku Annoon and Tuanku Assan, who, I understand, are distantly related to the old Governor, and under these circumstances, seeing how useless Keddah is to so large a kingdom as Siam, that it is very remote from Bankok, and inhabited principally by Malays, I think it would be highly

advisable for the King to permit the Ex Governor and his family to return, as thereby all further trouble and expense in the management of Keddah will be avoided.

Tuanku Dye and Tuanku Mahomed Yacob wish to return to this Settlement as soon as possible, and I beg of your Excellency to protect them while in Siam, and to send them and their followers back in any vessel that may sail for Singapore.

With every consideration &ca.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham
Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Singapore
30th June 1841.

India Political Consultations, Range 195, Vol. 62.

Fort William 13th September 1841.

No. 7.

To T. H. Maddock Esquire,
Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter of the 1st ultimo* I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter that hae reached me from Captain Triggs, commander of ths Siamese Ship Success, in which vessel Tuanku Dye, the son of the Ex Raja of Keddah, proceeded to Siam.

* *See Vol. 61 of this series.*

I have &ca.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham
Governor of Prince of Wales Island
Singapore and Malacca.

Singapore
14th August 1841.

India Political
Consultations,
Range 195,
Vol. 62.

Fort William 13th September 1841.

The Honble. S. G. Bonham Esquire.

Sir,

The Success arrived at this bar on Friday night last, making a passage of seven days. On my arrival I immediately wrote the Praklang acquainting him of the arrival of the son of the Ex Raja of Keddah. It being neap tides and blowing hard from the south, I had no answer till this morning when he sent a verbal message, saying he had sent orders to Paknam that if the winds lulled they were to fetch him from the ship in an accommodation boat, but that if it continued to blow so hard he had better remain on board until the springs and come in with the ship. He also sent an assurance that he would be well received at Bankok, and I have not the slightest doubt but that every thing will accord with your wishes.

I see Hunter's cutter coming out and will get him to write to you.

I am &ca.

(Signed) J. P. Triggs.

Success, Siam Bar,
11th July 1841.

India Political Consultations, Range 195, Vol. 61.

Fort William, 23d August 1841.

No. 7.

To Governor, Eastern Settlements,

Singapore and Penang.

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 1st July.*

* *See ante.*

2. I am desired in reply to state that the Governor General in Council approves the advance made by you to Tuanku Dye, the son of the Ex Chief of Quedah, to enable him to proceed with his cousin to Bankok there to petition for the restoration of the District of Quedah to the family.

3. The Governor General in Council concurs with you in thinking that the Court of Siam will be glad to receive the submission of the exiled family, and that an arrangement may not improbably result from the son's visit to the capital, which will prevent disturbances of the kind twice experienced under the attempts to govern Quedah by Siamese officers. It will be a source of much satisfaction to the Governor General in Council to hear that the Ex Chief so obtains restoration to the ancient possessions of his family; and it seems to His Lordship in Council that the end will be more likely to be attained by not displaying on the part of the British Government any unnecessary anxiety on the subject, or offering mediation or the guarantee of any terms.

4. The Governor General in Council thinks you acted quite right in refusing to accede to the Ex Chief's request for permission to proceed to Penang, to be more near the territory to which he desires to be restored. Such a movement would have been more likely to excite suspicions than to assist the negotiation which it is desired to promote.

5. The fact that the Siamese have found it necessary to place Quedah under the management of Malay Chiefs is a circumstance rightly deemed by you favorable to the views of the Ex Chief, as it shows the disposition of the Court not to be adverse to the principle of governing the Malays by their own Chiefs. But it may be necessary to caution the Ex Rajah against opening correspondence with the Malay administrators, taking any step likely to bring them under suspicion of collusion and to cause their removal and a change of system. His Lordship in Council trusts soon to hear from you of the reception given to the two Chiefs sent to Siam.

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) T. H. Maddock
Secretary to Government of India.

Fort William
the 23d August 1841.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 14.

Fort William the 22d June 1842.

No. 12.

To T. H. Maddock Esquire
Secretary to Government
Fort William.

Sir,

With reference to my letter of the 1st July * last and your reply of the 23d August * it now affords me great satisfaction in being able to forward for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council translation of a letter to my address from the Praklang, the Minister for Foreign Affairs for Siam, by which it will be seen to a certain extent, the object of the visit of Tuanku Dye to Bankok has been successful.

* *See same Range 195, Vol. 61.*

2. By this opportunity a box containing a letter on the same subject from the Praklang to the address of the Honorable Mr. Prinsep * is also forwarded to Calcutta. This letter is not quite so comprehensive as that which was sent to me. In the letter to Mr. Prinsep the Praklang says, *the King has given his permission for the Ex Rajah to return to Kedah.* In the letter to my address it is stated "The great Emperor has therefore directed that the country of Keddah shall be divided into three parts and that the Government of these shall be bestowed on such Malays as His Majesty shall deem worthy of his confidence. This resolution has been communicated to Tuanku Dye," the Ex King, "and also in a letter to the Chou Phya and also that the mighty Emperor has been graciously pleased to permit the Chau Phya to return to Keddah and reside there." In neither of these letters therefore is it distinctly stated that it is the intention of the King of Siam to place the Ex Rajah in charge of Keddah, but from Tuanku Dye, who proceeded to Siam

* *This letter does not appear to exist.*

to negociate for his father's return to Keddah, I am informed there is no doubt of the Ex Rajah being reinstated after his arrival in that country.

3. The Praklang proceeds to observe that from the altered circumstances under which Keddah will now be placed in consequence of the King's determination to sanction the Ex Rajah's return to his country, the 13th Article of Captain Burney's Treaty of June 1826, ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council on the 17th January 1827 will be inapplicable and requests therefore that it may be expunged. It is the particular article in the treaty that has caused so much confusion, as from its provisions the British Government has considered itself bound to assist Siam whenever Keddah has been attacked by the Malays under the auspices of the Ex Rajah or any of his family, while the corresponding stipulations in our favor, however necessary they may have been at the time the Treaty was concluded, are now and for many years have been entirely useless in every respect.

4. I have just received from the Ex Rajah the letter addressed to him from Bankok already adverted to. In it it is stated that the Siamese Government intends to divide Keddah into four parts, giving to the Ex-Raja that portion which is by far the most valuable and which includes the fort and town of Keddah, where the Ex Rajah resided previously to his being driven therefrom in 1821. The letter also states that the Governor of Singora will be dispatched to fix the boundaries of the division to be thus allotted. In these letters there are obviously considerable discrepancies, but from them all it is certain that the Siamese Government are desirous of expunging the 13th article of the treaty, which, as already observed, has been on many occasions found inconvenient to us and that it is intended that the Ex Rajah shall be permitted to have at least by far the

most valuable portion of the territory over which he formerly presided.

5. Under these circumstances I venture respectfully to report that I conceive the propositions of the Praklang should be forthwith complied with and the article XIII of the Treaty be declared void.

6. In my former letters I have declared it my opinion that Siam will never be of any avail to us in any dispute in which the British Government may be involved with Burma, and that at no time can there be any reasonable cause of alarm from her; at this time in particular, by reason of the position of affairs in China, she is more than ever in fear of our Government, and it would therefore, if the Government consider it expedient to do so, be a fitting opportunity, when acknowledging the Praklang's letter to enforce generally on the Siamese Government that as the Keddah country has always been in alliance with Prince of Wales Island, the British Government expects that Keddah will in future be treated precisely in the same way as are Salengore and Perak, with the exception that the Rajah of Keddah shall invariably every three years send to Siam the Boonga Mas as has heretofore been invariably the custom, and to this arrangement I have little doubt the Siamese Government will at once accede, at all events by its silence if not directly.

7. Presuming that there can be no doubt of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council approving of the Ex Rajah returning to Keddah I shall forthwith write to him that he has the permission of Government to proceed to Prince of Wales Island, where he can remain until the necessary preliminaries have been adjusted for his return to Keddah.

8. I should at this particular juncture wish to be at Penang, as my going over to Keddah and giving to

the Rajah's restoration a little éclat might possibly tend to prevent any minute interference with the Rajah hereafter, but from this I am precluded until I can ascertain if the means will be afforded me of proceeding to Borneo, as it appears to be in the contemplation of the Government that I should do; as also from expecting the arrival of the reinforcements for China from England and India, at which period, if possible, I am desirous of being here.

9. The necessary communications on the subject will be made to the Resident Counceillor at Penang, and I feel satisfied that arrangements for the reinstatement of the Ex Rajah in that portion of Keddah which the Siamese have allotted to him will be effected without any trouble or inconvenience.

10. The expense incurred in procuring a passage for Tuanku Dye and his followers from Bankok on his return to the Straits amounts to 500 dollars, a sum that he was totally unprepared to meet, and as he went with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government and his mission has proved tolerably successful, I have caused this sum to be paid from the public treasury, to which disbursement I have respectfully to solicit the sanction of His Lordship in Council.

I have the honor &ca.
(Signed) S. G. Bonham
Governor of Prince of Wales
Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Singapore
18th March 1842

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 14.

Fort William the 22d June 1842.

No. 13.

Translation of a letter from the Chow Phriya Phra Klang Senabodi, High Minister at the Court of Phra Maha Nakhon Sri Ayodia, or Siam.

To the Honorable Mr. Bonham
Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore and Malacca.

With friendly greeting.

A letter has been received by the presence from Mr. Bonham which was transmitted by Mr. Hunter regarding Tuanku Dye * Dall for whom Mr. Bonham expresses very friendly feelings. It also appears from the letter that Mr. Bonham had learned that Tuanku Anoon had gone to Siam to negotiate regarding the Keddah affairs, and Mr. Bonham requested that so soon as the consultations were over Tuanku Dall might be sent back quickly. It was further suggested (by Mr. Bonham) that since the Keddah country is small, the (Ex Rajah) Chow Phrya should be restored to its government to remain there, as of old, so that friendly relations may remain between the two great countries England and Siam.

* *Blank space.*

Further it was stated in that letter that in the preceding year a Cochin Chinese vessel trading to Singapore had been seized by the (English) Commander of a Siamese vessel, for which proceeding no reason had been assigned, and it was requested that in future no vessels trading in the same manner should be seized, because should they be seized the Cochin Chinese might molest English vessels trading to their country in retaliation, and that the Siamese might thus be suspected, and be involved in disputes. It was also requested that the Chinese who were in the above vessel should be released to return to their families at Singapore and that the same proceeding

regarding Chinese might be attended to on all future occasions.

There are many other matters also to be discussed in this letter.

The Chow Phriya of Keddah has submitted to the Court a humble petition to be allowed to stay in Keddah. The first letter was transmitted viâ Songkla (Singora) and another viâ Ligor. When letters were received by the Ministers, they could not produce them before the presence until the relations of the Chow Phriya should have arrived to supplicate in person. Since then the Chow Phriya has sent Tuanku Dall and Tuanku Mahomed Akil with a supplication Letter to the presence exhibiting submission and with many protestations of grief and regret for the past, begging to be again received under the gracious protection of his Majesty of Siam, and to be allowed to return to and live in Keddah and further promising to pay to Siam the Gold and Silver flowers according to former usage.

The Ministers at the capital taking all these things into consideration have gladly presented to the Emperor the letters of Mr. Bonham and of the Chau Phriya, and have also presented Tuanku Dall and Tuanku Mahomed Akel. These two persons have prostrated themselves at the feet of the great Emperor, the munificent. Thus the Emperor has been acquainted with every thing.

The Emperor accordingly instructed his Ministers to take the Chau Phriya's affairs into their consideration.

The Ministers accordingly held a Council and they brought under their review all that had happened regarding Keddah affairs from the year of the Large Snake 1182 upwards.

At the above date the Chau Phriya of Ligor went

to the presence and reported that the wild tribes of the frontiers had informed him that the Burmese intended invading Lower Siam.

His Majesty then directed the Chau Phriya of Ligor to proceed and assemble the forces of the Lower Provinces of Siam to defend them against the anticipated aggression, and that Chief did as he had been ordered, and all these countries with the single exception of Keddah were prepared for defence, which country could not be depended on but was refractory and not to be trusted.

In the year of Hare when the gold and silver flowers should have been sent from Keddah to Siam they were kept back, and the Chau Phriya of Keddah had left Keddah Fort and had gone to reside at Mirbow River and would not return to Keddah. At this time Tuanku Mom behaved deceitfully (in regard to the Ex Rajah) and insinuated to the Court of Siam that the Chau Phriya of Keddah was not well disposed towards it, and not to be trusted, and further that he had dispatched the Chief or Nakodah Si Amang to Ava with overtures to the Court there, and requesting that His Majesty of Ava would detach a force to invade the territory of Siam. Further that the people of Keddah would not join the Chau Phrya of Ligor against the Burmans on account of the above negotiations with Ava. Further that should the Burmans actually invade Singora and Ligor and other places, the Chau Phriya of Ligor would have great difficulty in resisting at all points. Thus the Chau Phriya of Ligor, finding that he could not depend on the Chau Phriya of Keddah, solicited that the Emperor would allow him to go to Keddah, and settle affairs there, and this particularly because, as he represented, this province is bounded by the sea on the west and its coasts lie very conveniently for descents on it by the Burmese, while on the other hand its ports are equally convenient for the fitting

out of fleets of Siamese boats to oppose Burman armaments. So the Chau Phriya of Ligor was sent back from the Court to Ligor. From this place he in the year Maseng 3 tri sok proceeded to Keddah, which was then in confusion. The Chau Phriya was residing at the River Mirbow and (on learning the approach of the Siamese) he fled to Pulo Penang.

Such being the state of affairs, the Chau Phriya of Ligor was constrained to put his own son Phra Phakdee Borirak in possession of the part of the Government of Keddah. This happened in the year of the snake (Trisok).

In the year of the monkey (Chosok) the great Emperor of Siam died and was succeeded by one of the Royal family.

Now the Ex Chau Phriya of Keddah being found obstinate and disrespectful, he would not submit to the wishes and orders of the Emperor, nor would he transmit any written acknowledgments of his submission. Instead of doing all this his sons and adherents and relatives invaded Keddah on three several occasions. The first invasion was that of Tuanku Abdullah, the second was that of Tuanku Long Puteh, and the third armament went under Tuanku Kudin. When the Chau Phriya of Ligor heard that the Chau Phriya of Keddah was collecting forces or concerting to assemble forces from the countries of Perak and of Salengore to invade Keddah, he sent intelligence to the Court of Siam, and requested instructions how to act, and to be allowed to prevent these forces being so collected.

In the year of the Monkey (Chosok) the English invaded Ava, and took possession of Tavoy and Mergui and Tannao (in Tenasserim). At this period the Chau Phriya of Bengal (the Governor General) directed Captain Burney to visit Siam as Envoy to treat with

the Court there. That officer first arrived at Penang, where he was informed that the Chau Phriya of Ligor was then in Keddah, with the intention of punishing Perak and Salengore by invading them. Upon this he, Captain Burney, accompanied by Mr. Maingy of Penang visited the Chau Phriya of Ligor at Keddah, and expostulated with him regarding his projected invasion of these countries as they said that the Penang traders would be thereby annoyed, at the same time saying that the Chau Phriya of Keddah would not be allowed to molest Keddah.

After three years had passed the Chau Phriya of Ligor found that the Chau Phriya of Keddah would not go and with due submission humbly sue for pardon (of the Emperor).

The English agreed that the Chau Phriya of Keddah should not molest or invade Keddah.

The Rajah of Ligor therefore brought Keddah directly under Siamese management just as Mergui and Tavoy are wholly English.

So Phra Phakdee Borirak was fixed in the Government of Keddah according to Siamese custom, and the projected invasion of Perak and Salengore were given up.

The Chau Phriya of Ligor and Captain Burney, after the consultations at Keddah, proceeded towards the capital of Siam and the latter touched at Ligor in the way to accompany the Chau Phriya of Ligor.

At the Capital Captain Burney concluded a treaty betwixt the Siamese and the English nations which contains fourteen articles. There are six other subsidiary articles regarding the trade of large and small vessels.

As before noticed the Chau Phriya of Ligor had installed Phra Phakdi Borirak in the Government

of Keddah. This was in the year of the Fowl (Sattasok). This Governor administered the Government of Keddah for six years and until the year of the hare (tri sok). Then Tuanku Kudin invaded Keddah where he died. The Chau Phriya of Ligor came to the assistance of the Siamese with an army and the Governor of Penang sent a war vessel to blockade the mouth of the river and peace and order were restored. Six years after these events and while the Siamese Government above named was yet in authority Tuanku Mahomed Saad conspired with the Keddah people and invaded that country with an army. Upon this Mr. Bonham sent again a vessel of war to blockade the mouth of the river and all the people there became distressed for provisions and supplies, and there was much fighting and loss of life amongst the Malays. Desperation ensued, and the country suffered devastation. Thus frequently have the Malays of Keddah conspired to expel the Siamese and restore their own Chiefs. After Keddah had been again freed from rebellion the Emperor of Siam came to the resolution of governing it by means of Malayan officers as the best mode of preventing a recurrence of such scenes. For it appeared to His Majesty that the religion, the laws and the customs of Siam were quite distinct from those of the Malays, and that like oil and water they could not be amalgamated. Besides it seemed that Keddah had almost reverted to jungle which could not be desirable.

His Majesty has also been ever desirous that his people who inhabit the outskirts of the Empire should be freed from anarchy and live in peace. His Majesty therefore directed his General, *Si Phiphat*, and also the Chau Phriya of Ligor to confer together and to select Malays of respectability and ability and who might be trusted in order that they might be placed in authority in Keddah. But before the conferences could be concluded the Chau Phriya died.

This His Majesty directed to be done because the Malays knew each others customs and therefore there would be less chance of rebellion.

Subsequently the above named general went to Keddah and placed Tuanku Annoom in authority over it as the Emperor reposed confidence in him and Tuanku Hassain was appointed to assist him in the Government. Now the Chau Phriya (the Ex Rajah) has sent Tuanku Dall and Tuanku Mahomed Akil with a submissive letter begging to be restored to the Government of Keddah, and promising to present the gold and silver flowers as tokens of his submission according to old usage, so that by means of the Emperor's power he may enjoy repose; and Tuanku Dall has acquainted the Emperor that the Chau Phriya is now residing in the Company's territory, and is unhappy and in difficulties.

The Ministers moreover have represented in the presence that the Chau Phriya has become contrite and has become of another mind, and that he has sent his son and grandson to explain all.

His Majesty's Ministers have therefore solicited him to compassionate the Chau Phriya of Keddah and to allow him as of old to go and reside there, and that under the circumstances adverted to that a letter should should be sent to Mr. Bonham to acquaint him with what has been detailed in this letter respecting past events.

The great Emperor has therefore directed that the country of Keddah shall be divided into three parts and that the Government of these shall be bestowed on such Malays as his Majesty shall deem worthy of confidence. This resolution has been communicated to Tuanku Dall and also in a letter to Chau Phriya; and also that the mighty Emperor has been graciously pleased to permit the Chau Phriya to return to Keddah and reside there.

Moreover the 13th article of the Treaty of Bankok runs thus (there the article is copied in, but with the following omissions and mistakes. Where the Siamese engage to remain in Keddah the words "and to take proper care of it" are omitted. "Pry" in Province Wellesley is written "Chrai," which signifies Keddah: instead of Siamese, Chinese, and other Asiatics, it is written Siamese Malays and Chinese.)

This article His Majesty of Siam hopes may be expunged so that both of the great countries of Siam and of the English may be for ever united by friendly relations.

A letter has been transmitted to the Governor-General of Bengal regarding the 19th* clause which it is requested Mr. Bonham will obligingly forward.

* *Sic. ? 13*.*

Tuanku Dall and Tuanku Mahomed Akel have returned in Luang Pathel's vessel on Wednesday the 15th of the third month.

In regard to the request of Mr. Bonham that captains of Siamese vessels may be prevented from seizing trading vessels returning from the new country (Singapore) to Cochin China* are enemies of the Siamese, and as the English and Siamese are on such friendly footing that the conduct of them both may be misrepresented and the Siamese be suspected. Now his Excellency is ever cautious to give no cause for umbrage to the nations with whom he is in amity. When any country is offended with another country or has cause to suspect it then enquiries are made, and if these do not prove satisfactory that country is attacked. The Emperor ordered the Commander of the ship Chinda Doung Kea to overhaul all Cochin Chinese vessels and to enquire as to their affairs, destination &ca.

* *There is apparently an omission here.*

In the 4th month of the year of the Rat the captain of this ship seized a Cochin Chinese vessel at the Island of Oolooleay off the coast of Sai Nejon

and took prisoner eight Cochin Chinese and four Chinese, and the Captain reported that at the time the wind was strong so that his people only took a few loose articles which were lying about the deck and then set fire to the vessel and returned.

In the 6th month of the year of the bull (tri sok) the same Captain fell in with a Cochin Chinese vessel off the coast of Calantan in which were some Chinese and two Cochin Chinese and that after detaining them some time for the purpose of making enquiries she was dismissed without molestation.

This His Majesty considered the proper mode of proceeding betwixt the two countries.

Mr. Bonham desires that trading prahus or vessels passing from Singapore to Cochin China may not be molested because the English might possibly impute blame to the Siamese.

If the captains of Siamese vessels do not detain Chinese vessels for the mere purpose of making enquiries regarding the Cochin Chinese affairs, as to whether the intentions of that nation be warlike or otherwise, then Siam would not be prepared if necessary for the defence of the mouths of the rivers against any invasion by the Cochin Chinese. Such vessels therefore should be brought to as heretofore.

Further the Commanders of Siamese vessels have been ordered not to detain any vessels which they may meet within the English bounds.

When English vessels [go] to Cochin China they should be provided with English papers so that should they meet with Siamese ships there may be no hindrance to their voyage.

The four Chinese who were seized opposite to Sai Ugon were a man of Hok Ean, one Khe and two of Canton.

These men had gone to reside at Singapore and went afterwards on a trading voyage to Cochin China. One of these men was drowned at Bankok, the remaining three have been at Mr. Bonham's request sent back to Singapore.

This letter has been written in duplicate, one copy being in the Siamese and the other in the Malayan language, upon Wednesday, in the third month, on the 15th day of the month in the year of the Bull (Tri sok) and of the Siamese Era 1203 (corresponding to the 19th January 1842.)

A true translation by me from the Siamese Copy.

(Signed) James Low,
Major,
Assistant Resident.

Singapore
The 9th March 1842.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 14.

Fort William the 22d June 1842.

No. 14.

Note by the Honorable Mr. H. T. Prinsep.

The accompanying letters were yesterday delivered at my house in a packing case containing the wooden trays or leaves envoloped in silk which are the usual covers of a state letter from Siam.

The Prah Klang of that Court has been in the habit of addressing all his letters nominally to me since I signed the letter carried to Bankok by Mr. Crawfurd in 1823. But Mr. Bonham has apparently a special reason for sending them in this demi official form, rather than with an official report to the Secretary, because it would seem that he regards the favorable issue of the negotiations which the Ex Rajah of Queda sent his son to Bankok to institute for a restoration of his country to be owing in a great degree to the good offices of Mr. Hunter, an English trader, who has long resided at that capital, and is possessed of much influence at the Court.

Mr. Bonham refers to a demi official correspondence that passed between himself and me in 1837/38, at a time when the last Malay rising against the Siamese was recently suppressed.

That rising was occasioned by the oppressions and mismanagement of the Siamese administration and ended in this Government's authorizing the Governor of Singapore to communicate to the Court of Siam its resolution of not again to assist actively in suppressing revolts that might have their origin in similar causes.

It was during and at the close of these transactions that Mr. Bonham represented demi officially that the Siamese were beginning to be aware of the cost and difficulties they must encounter in the attempt to

convert Queda into a province of Siam and were disposed to change their feeling and appoint Malay Governors more or less connected with the old family. He thought this opportunity a good one for an attempt to procure the restoration of the Ex Rajah on his old terms of fealty and asked me whether the Government were disposed to hold out to Mr. Hunter the prospect of some personal remuneration if the object could be effected through his influence. I was authorized by the President in Council to whom I of course communicated this correspondence to write to Mr. Bonham that the Government would consider the sum of two or three thousand dollars well laid out if so important an object could be brought about at such a cost, and that he might freely assure Mr. Hunter of remuneration to that extent in case of his being able to procure the Ex Rajah's restoration to Quedah. The Governor General, Lord Auckland, who was then in the North West Provinces approved and confirmed this measure, participating entirely in the wish to see the affairs of Quedah brought to such a consummation. Mr. Bonham did in consequence enter into correspondence with Mr. Hunter, but nothing it was found could then be effected, the [blank] of the Courts of Siam requiring that the Ex Rajah should make his submission unconditionally as a preliminary to any terms with him.

The change of policy however in the administration of Queda did take place, and in the course of the past year when the Siamese vessel Success came to Singapore, the Ex Raja, thinking the disposition of the Court of Siam to be favorable, sent up his son and nephew to Bankok with the full assent and some pecuniary aid from Mr. Bonham, whose proceedings are entirely approved by this Government. That [blank] has it seems resulted in the propositions to our Government contained in this letter of the Phrah Klang to my address, and in the arrangement by which the Ex Rajah is to be restored to part of his old ter-

ritory, the rest being placed by administration in the hands of his relatives who are now in power there.

The letter of the Prah Klang contains a distinct renunciation of the 13th article of Captain now Colonel Burney's treaty with Siam, which article has been the subject of much discussion and the deliverance from the obligations of which has been much wished.

The long and able paper of Colonel Burney recently received from the Court of Directors* will fully explain the circumstances under which this article was agreed to. That officer will however himself be rejoiced to hear that its abrogation is about to take place through the unlooked for event of the Ex Rajah's restoration to the country of his ancestors.

** Search has been made for this paper without result. Its receipt is recorded in the Court Minutes of the Company, but the document itself is not forthcoming.*

With this question however I have at present no immediate concern. I write this now merely to confirm the statement of Mr. Bonham as to the authority given to him in 1837/38 to offer remuneration to Mr. Hunter for the purpose of procuring what has now been happily effected and therefore to support his proposition that the acknowledgment then offered shall now be given, since it appears that the success of Tuanku Dye's mission has been mainly owing to Mr. Hunter's influence and exertions in its favour.

(Signed) H. T. Prinsep

Calcutta
23d April 1842.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 17.

Fort William the 22d June 1842

No. 15.

To

Lt. Col. Burney.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honorable the President in Council to transmit to you the enclosed original despatch* from the Governor of the Eastern Statements respecting negotiations now in progress for the restoration of Keddah to the Ex Rajah, and as a consequence of that event the cancelment of the 13th article of the Siam Treaty of 1826 concluded under your superintendence, with the request of His Highness in Council that you will be pleased to favor me, for the information of Government with any remarks of yours upon the subject.

* *See ante 18 March 1842.*

2. You are requested to return these documents with your reply.

I have the honour &ca.
(Signed) G. A. Bushby
Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William
the 27th April 1842.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 14.

Fort William the 22d June 1842.

No. 16

To G. A. Bushby Esqr.,
Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India, Political Department.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 27th instant,* transmitting to me an original dispatch from the Governor of the Eastern Settlements dated 18th ultimo,* respecting a negotiation now in progress for the restoration of Keddah to the Ex Rajah, and I lose no time in submitting, for the information of His Honor in Council, such observations as occur to me upon this subject and on the proposition made by the Court of Siam for cancelling the 13th article of the Siam Treaty of 1826 which was concluded under my superintendence.

* *See ante.*

* *do.*

2. I beg to remind His Honor in Council that this is not the first time that the Siamese have proposed to the Ex Rajah to return to Keddah. In the year 1824 he received a formal invitation to this effect from the Rajah of Ligore, but he wisely determined upon not accepting it unless the Government of Prince of Wales Island became a party to it, and on that Government taking up the matter, the Siamese dropped it, exciting a strong suspicion at the time that the invitation was only a Siamese stratagem to allure the Ex Rajah into their power.

3. The present invitation however is, in all probability, an honest one. Those who were most interested in the direct occupation of Keddah by the Siamese, the Wang-na, or Crown Prince at the capital, and his uncle, the Rajah of Ligore, are both dead, and Keddah has been so laid waste and destroyed by repeated attacks of Malays that the Court of Siam must be

sensible its only chance of deriving any benefit from the country will be by allowing the Malays to govern it again. Yet I should think promises and engagements must have been made by Tuánku Dye to the Siamese Court, before it would agree to restore to its confidence his father, the Ex Rajah, and perhaps the Government of India will require more information on the point before it adopt Mr. Bonham's recommendation and openly becomes a party in this negotiation, by making arrangements for conveying the Ex Rajah to Keddah, and for his proper reinstatement there, in such portion of the country as the Siamese may have allotted to him.

4. There is no doubt that if Mr. Bonham's recommendation be adopted the British Government will gain in reputation among the Eastern States. But His Honor in Council will perhaps consider that any such interference on our part may not end with the pleasing ceremony of escorting the Ex Rajah to Keddah. We may be made responsible for his future safety and good conduct, and in fact committed to ulterior procedures. Before we act therefore, we ought to take care to ascertain clearly and precisely, the terms and footing on which the Ex Rajah is to be replaced in Keddah.

5. The present Bugis State of Salengore is wholly independent of Siam, the Chief never having acknowledged her supremacy or sent her the *Boonga Mas*. The State of Perak has also been relieved from every kind of Siamese interference or connexion since the year 1827. When therefore Mr. Bonham proposes that we should "enforce generally on the Court of Siam" that the British Government expects that Keddah will in future be treated "precisely in the same way as Salangore and Perak" with the exception that the Rajah of Keddah shall send, triennially, the Boonga Mas to Siam, he means, I presume, that

in spite of the well known token of subjection and dependence on the part of the Rajah, the Siamese shall in future on no account nor in any manner, interfere with the government of Keddah or the conduct of the Rajah, nor derive from them any advantage whatever, beyond a gold or silver flower triennially, of the value of about 100 Spanish dollars.

6. I do not believe that the Court of Siam has the most distant idea of allowing the Ex Rajah to return to Keddah on such terms, and I think if the Government of India intend that he shall be replaced in this manner, it will be but just and will prevent future misunderstanding, to make a communication to this effect to the Court of Siam, in more clear and decided language than Mr. Bonham proposes to do. It is not on the side of Siam that I should anticipate any difficulties or inconveniences likely to follow such a step on our part. He is too well aware of our superiority to attempt to dispute or counteract any determination of the British Government and therefore we might go farther and put a stop also to the transmission of the *Boonga Mas* from Keddah. But in adopting such a line of proceeding we must be prepared to take an active part in the interior affairs of Keddah, and to such interference I must own objections have been shown, particularly in a letter addressed by Mr. John Crawfurd to Mr. Secretary Swinton on the 31st May 1824.* Besides the arrangement now proposed by the Siamese of subdividing Keddah may entail other evils: the Rajah will naturally enough endeavour to recover possession of the whole of his former territory. He and the Chiefs placed by the Siamese over the other two or three divisions of the country will differ and intrigue with each other and with Siam, opening a door for the interference of the latter. Our reputation will require that the Chief whom we had the *éclat* of reinstating shall be protected and maintained in his territory.

* *? Notes towards a treaty—Factory Records, Str: Setts Vol. 99.*

But admitting the force of all these objections it cannot be denied on the other hand, that the Straits Government since the year 1830, have been interfering in Keddah, and with military operations to a great degree, quite as much, perhaps, as it could be necessary under any arrangement we might make for the benefit of our old ally, the Malay Chief of Keddah.

7. As the proposition for cancelling the 13th article of the Treaty of 1826 has emanated from the Court of Siam, I suspect that it contemplates some advantage to itself from such annulment, and I am confirmed in my suspicion when I observe that the Siamese Minister, in reciting this article in his letter to Mr. Bonham, omits the clause which stipulates that Siam shall take proper care of Keddah and its people, and which gives us the right of interfering at any time to prevent the adoption of any measures we may regard as injurious to Keddah or its inhabitants. The circumstances of the Ex Rajah being restored to Keddah will of itself annul the only clause in that article from which any inconvenience has been experienced by us; that requiring us not to permit the Rajah or his followers to go and attack or molest Keddah, or any other territory subject to Siam. But this inconvenience arose entirely from an erroneous construction which the Government of the Eastern Settlements put upon that clause. I shall not trouble His Honor in Council with a repetition in this place of the history and purport of that clause, as I have already explained them and pointed out the misapprehension of the Straits Government in the 83d, 98th, 99th and 100th paragraphs of a letter which I addressed on the 31st July last* to the Secretary of the Honorable the Court of Directors, and a copy of which I understand has been forwarded to the Government of India.

* *See ante for a note on the non-discovery of this document.*

8. I conceive however that if the Rajah returns to Keddah under the authority of Siam, all the other

clauses in the 13th article of the Treaty ought to continue in force. The Rajah will no doubt be accompanied or followed to Keddah by a large portion of the 25,000 or 30,000 of his former subjects, who emigrated into our territory of Province Wellesley, and the several clauses binding Siam to govern Keddah properly, stipulating for a perfect freedom of trade and intercourse between Keddah and Prince of Wales Island, and an unrestricted exportation of provisions and supplies from the former to the latter places, requiring fair and proper import duties to be levied in Keddah, without any of those injurious monopolies at the mouths of the different rivers which the Rajah formerly maintained, will all again become useful and necessary.

9. Strong arguments may certainly be adduced in favor of the Government of India now assuming a high tone in order to give peace and tranquillity to Keddah and the Straits of Malacca, and benefit our old ally the Ex Rajah, and the admissions in the letter of the Siamese Minister himself to Mr. Bonham may furnish us, I think, with grounds for insisting upon the Siamese Court now adopting the proposition we made to it in the year 1825. But the Government of India will decide whether the advantages will be an equivalent for the inconveniences likely to attend such a humane and popular course of policy, or whether the inconveniences will be greater than those which we have already experienced through a misapprehension on the part of the Straits Government of the clause in the 13th article of the Treaty of Siam. If the Government of India decide against dictating to Siam a proper adjustment of the affairs of Keddah, I still think we should not afford our sanction to this injudicious subdivision of the country, nor become a party to replacing the Ex Rajah over a portion only of his territory, in the loose and indefinite manner now proposed by the Siamese Court;

and in this view of the case our best course will perhaps be the following. His Highness may be told to accept or otherwise, on his own responsibility, the offer now made to him by the King of Siam to return and reside in Keddah, and the Straits Government desired to take no part in the matter beyond advancing the Rajah a small loan of money and some military stores, if he requires them. At the same time, the Government of the Eastern Settlements may send a reply to the letter from the Siamese Minister, stating that the Ex Rajah is at full liberty to proceed and accept the King of Siam's offer whenever he pleases, and that the circumstance of his now having been restored to the favor of the King of Siam and invited to return and reside in Keddah does of itself annul that clause in the 13th article of the Treaty which required the British Government not to allow him and his followers to go and attack or disturb Keddah, but that there is no reason why any of the other clauses in that article should be annulled, and that accordingly, the British Government will consider all these as still in full force.

10. I beg to return the original documents enclosed in your letter.

I have the honor &ca.
(Signed) H. Burney.
Lieut. Col. 68 N. I.

Calcutta
30th April 1842.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 14.

Fort William the 22d June 1842.

No. 20.

To T. H. Maddock Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of India
Fort William

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 28th February* and its enclosures from the Honorable Court of Directors relative to the capture of Tuanku Mahomed Saad, and in reply I beg to forward copy of the correspondence which took place between Mr. Salmond, the Resident Councillor at Penang, and Mr. Stewart on the subject, previously to the gun boat Diana being sent in search of that marauder, together with a letter from Mr. Salmond, explaining the circumstances attending it. I also forward a paper containing the examination of Mr. Stewart* touching the subject matter, and which I thought it advisable Mr. Church, the Resident Councillor at Singapore, should conduct.

* *Not copied.*

* *Not copied.*

2. It appears that immediately after the details of the trial were published, Mr. Salmond, on seeing that portion which the Honorable Court have considered it desirable should be enquired into, called Mr. Stewart and questioned him in the presence of Major Low, at that time stationed at Penang, on the discrepancy between the evidence he had given before the Court, and what was really the fact, when Mr. Stewart in Major Low's presence made a statement which was taken down and sent to me by Mr. Salmond, in a demi official shape, but as Mr. Salmond's note was written under some excitement I did not think it necessary to forward it for the information of Government, especially as I felt personally satisfied from the instructions issued by Mr. Salmond, and Mr. Stewart's statement, that Tuanku Mahomed Saad had

not been inveigled by any false promises to give himself up, but has been induced to do so solely because he could not escape, the Rajah of Perak, in whose country he had taken refuge and who had been written to on the subject, having directed him to remove from the Perak Territory, which he could not do in consequence of the Government gun boats being at the entrance of the river for the purpose of capturing him.

A memo of Mr. Stewart's statement made in the presence of Major Low is herewith enclosed* and bears the signature of that gentleman, the general accuracy of which has, within a few days, been admitted in my presence by Mr. Stewart.

* *Omitted.*

3. Mr. Church in his letter to me says that he has examined Mr. Stewart both in the English and Malayan language. This became necessary from its being clear that Mr. Stewart's knowledge of the English language is imperfect. Mr. Salmond in his letter makes a nearly similar observation, and as Mr. Church has not seen Mr. Salmond's letter, there can be no doubt that Mr. Stewart cannot express his meaning very clearly at any time, and he is not unlikely to have been more than usually embarrassed by the Counsel engaged for the Tuanku at his trial who appear to have taken and to have been allowed more than ordinary freedom of speech on the occasion.

4. The papers themselves will I trust enable the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council to form a sufficiently accurate judgment of the propriety of releasing the Tuanku, on the grounds suggested by the Honorable Court, but I respectfully hope I may be permitted, as an inferior agent on the spot, and one who, from residing at Penang but seldom, is comparatively indifferent, or at all events free from all party bias, to say I am perfectly satisfied that Tuanku Mahomed Saad delivered himself up simply because he could not effect his

escape, as the Perak Raja had informed him to my knowledge that he would deliver him up if he (the Tuanku) did not quit the Baggan Tiang River, which is in the Perak territory; this the Tuanku was unable to effect, inasmuch as he had in his boat his wife and other females and his children, and therefore could not pass through the impenetrable forest, which grows on each side of the river, while the mouth of the river itself was blockaded by the Government gun boats. It was here indeed that Mr. Stewart on his going to Penang left orders with the gunner of the Diamond "to use every precaution against Tuanku Mahomed Saad's escape and to fire upon him should he attempt to do so," and that the Tuanku was aware he would be put into the Fort or common jail if taken to Penang is also clear from Mr. Stewart's statements.

* *See ante in this Vol.*

5. In my despatch of the 18th March,* reporting the result of Tuanku Dye's (the Ex King of Keddah's second son) visit to Keddah I have already reported that it is the desire of the Siamese Government to expunge from the Treaty concluded by Captain Burney at Bankok, the 13th article of that instrument. This at once puts at rest the principal inconvenience that has heretofore been experienced by the Straits Authorities from the invasion of Keddah by Malays from our coasts.

6. Should the Honorable the Governor General of India in Council approve of my proceedings as reported in my letter just adverted to I shall perhaps shortly receive orders to see the Ex King reinstated in Keddah, and should such be the intentions of Government, as the Tuanku has been declared not guilty of piracy, a fitting opportunity of releasing him might be afforded on His Lordship in Council being officially advised of the Ex King having positively assumed the management of his former territories. Should the Tuanku be set at large before that period and make his appearance at Keddah before

the Siamese authorities have vacated the country, the circumstance would uudoubtedly tend to aid unfounded suspicions and probably render them less willing to meet the wishes of the British Government with respect to the Keddah question than they appear to be at present.

7. In reference to the 100th paragraph of Colonel Burney's letter to which you direct my attention, I beg to remark that under the instructions of the Government contained in a letter from your office dated the 27th July 1840,* I addressed a letter to the Praklang under date 15th September * following of the tendency recommended by Colonel Burney. It does not therefore appear to me, under the circumstances arising from our new relations by the request of the Siamese Government to expunge the 13th article of the Treaty, necessary again to bring the matter to the notice of the Court of Bankok.

* *Not found.*
* " "

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham
Governor of Prince of Wales
Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Singapore.
10th May 1842.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 14.

Fort William the 22d June 1842.

No. 18.

To the Officiating Secretary to Government
in the Political Department,
Fort William.

Dated Allahabad, 8th June 1842.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 18th ultimo,* on the subject of the restoration by the Siamese of the Ex Rajah of Queda to his principality and the modification of the 13th article of our treaty with Siam ; and to inform you in reply that His Lordship concurs in the views and propositions of His Honor the President in Council as stated in the letter under acknowledgment.

* *Sic. Should be March. See ante.*

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) T. H. Maddock
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor General.

Allahabad
8th June 1842.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 14.

No. 19.

Fort William the 22d June 1842

To S. G. Bonham Esqre.,
Governor Eastern Settlements.

Sir,

I have the honor, by direction of the Honorable the President in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch dated the 18th March,* with its enclosures, on the subject of the restoration of the Ex Raja of Keddah, and the modification of our treaty with Siam.

* *See ante in this Vol.*

2. His Honor in Council considers it highly desirable to seize this opportunity of formally annulling those clauses of the 13th article of the treaty which have reference in any way to the disposal of the Ex Raja of Keddah, and you are authorized to notify to the Siamese Court the consent of the British Government to a modification thus far of that article.

3. But there appears to be no reason why the remaining clauses of the same article, providing for the proper administration of the place, and for its perfect freedom of trade and intercourse with Prince of Wales Island, should not remain in full force, that their existence may operate as a restraint in the future proceedings of those entrusted with the Government of Keddah, while it will always be in our discretion to revert to them or not as we may deem expedient.

4. It may become necessary that our mediation should be tendered for the adjustment of the relations of the Raja with the Court of Siam in case of their leading to disputes affecting the tranquillity of the country but His Honor in Council would not interfere for such a purpose if it could be avoided.

5. At present there seems to be no necessity for your interesting yourself in Keddah affairs to the

extent you propose, and for your becoming a party otherwise than passively to the division of the Keddah territory, and, in general, to the other arrangements in that quarter of the Siamese Government.

6. The President in Council authorizes the donation of 5000 Rs. to Mr. Hunter, the merchant of Bangkok by whose aid this negotiation has been brought to a successful issue, but the outlay of 500 dollars on account of Tuanku Dye's passage money ought to be considered an advance to the Keddah Rajah, to be recovered from that Chief on the first fitting opportunity.

7. A Copy of the Article in question is annexed with those parts underscored to the omission of which the sanction of His Honor in Council extends.

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) G. A. Bushby
Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William
the 22d June 1842.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 14.

Fort William the 22d June 1842.

(Copy)

Article 13. The Siamese engage to the English that the Siamese shall remain in Queda and take proper care of that country and of its people ; the inhababitants of Prince of Wales Island and of Queda shall have trade and intercourse as heretofore ; the Siamese shall levy no duty upon stock and provisions, such as cattle, buffaloes, poultry, fish, paddy, and rice, which the inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island, or ships there, may have occasion to purchase in Queda ; and the Siamese shall not farm the mouths of rivers or any stream in Queda, but shall levy fair and proper import and export duties. The Siamese further engage that when Chao Phya of Ligore returns from Bankok, he shall release the slaves, personal servants, family and kindred belonging to the former Governor of Queda, and permit them to go and live wherever they please. *The English engage to the Siamese that the English do not desire to take possession of Queda, that they will not attack or disturb it nor permit the former Governor of Queda or any of his followers to attack, disturb or injure in any manner the territory of Queda or any other territory subject to Siam. The English engage that they will make arrangements for the former Governor of Queda to go and live in some other country and not at Prince of Wales Island or Prythe, or in Perak, Salangor or any Burmese country. If the English do not let the former Governor of Queda go and live in some other country, as here engaged, the Siamese may continue to levy an export duty upon paddy and rice in Queda.* The English will not prevent any Siamese, Chinese, or other Asiatic, at Prince of Wales Island, from going to reside in Queda if they desire it.

True Copy

(Signed) G. A. Bushby,
Offg. Sec. to the Govt. of India.

India and Bengal Despatches, Vol. 33.

Ex Rajah of Kedah.

(Extracts.)

[To the Government of India, Fort William.]

India
Political Department.

Para. 3. You notify to us the prospect which has opened of the Ex Rajah's restoration to at least a portion of his ancient territory. His son, Tuanku Dye, it appears proceeded to Bankok, made submission in his father's behalf to the King of Siam, and obtained in return a promise of partial reinstatement, subsequently confirmed by letters which the Praklang, or Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Siamese Monarch, has addressed to Mr. Bonham and to Mr. Prinsep. No British authority took part in the negotiation, but it is considered to have been much aided by the good offices of Mr. Hunter, a British subject established at Bankok, to whom consequently, in conformity to expectations previously held out, you have made a present of 5,000 Dollars.

4. The present intention of the Siamese Government seems to be to divide the ancient territory of Kedah into either three or four portions, of which one only, but that one the most valuable, and including the Fort and town of Kedah, is to be placed under the authority of the Ex Rajah; it is not stated on what terms. The Praklang avows, as the motive for this arrangement, the adoption by his Court of the policy of governing the Malays through their own Chiefs.

5. The degree of sincerity, however, with which the Siamese Court enters into this arrangement is so uncertain, and the difficulties which may arise in the adjustment of the mutual relations between that Government and its dependant are so great, that we think with Lieut: Col: Burney, that the Ex Rajah should be told that he will accept the offer of the Siamese Government at his own risk. If the two parties, being unable to agree upon terms, should request

your mediation and guarantee, it will be time enough to consider of the expediency of affording it. But you clearly ought to be parties to no arrangement unless of the clearest and most definite kind.

6. The Siamese Government has expressed a strong wish that the thirteenth article of Colonel Burney's Treaty should be cancelled, a circumstance which we concur with that officer in considering to be in itself suspicious. We entirely approve of your having directed Mr. Bonham to intimate to the Siamese Court, that so much of the article as relates to the disposal of the Ex Rajah, being now inapplicable may be cancelled, but that the provisions requiring the Siamese to "take proper care of the country, and of its people," and providing for liberty of traffic, moderate duties and freedom from taxation on the export of provisions to Penang should remain in force.

7. You have on the present occasion transmitted to us the explanations of Mr. Bonham and Mr. Salmond respecting the mode in which possession was obtained of the person of Tuanku Mahomed Saad.

* * * * * *

It is unnecessary to remark on the most reprehensible character of this proceeding, our strong disapproval of which we desire may be communicated to Mr. Salmond.

* * * * * *

12. If the arrangement for the return of the Ex Rajah of Kedah takes effect, Tuanku Mahomed will of course be released from restraint, and permitted to share the fortunes of his family.

We are, &ca.

(Signed) J. L. Lushington

&ca. &ca. &ca.

London

The 30th December 1842.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 29.

No. 168.

Fort William the 5th April 1843.

To the Honorable S. Garling, Esquire,
Officiating Governor of Prince of Wales Island
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

In transmitting for your information and guidance the accompanying extracts, paragraphs 5—6 and 12 of a letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, dated 30th December* regarding the expected restoration by the Court of Siam, of the Ex Rajah of Keda, I am directed by the Honorable the President in Council to request you will report whether the Ex Rajah has actually been restored, and if not, that you will state the causes which have prevented the favorable issue of the negotiation with the Court of Siam, of which from Mr. Bonham's letter of the 18th March 1842* there appeared to be every prospect.

*See India & Bengal Despatches, Vol. 33.

* See India Pol. Cons. Range 196, Vol. 14.

2. You will observe from the 12th paragraph of the Honorable Court's letter that on the restoration of the Ex Rajah depends the release of Tuanku Mahomed Saad, now in confinement at Moorshedabad,

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) T. R. Davidson
Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William
the 5th April 1843.

India Political Consultations, Range 195, Vol. 35.

Fort William the 29 July 1843.

No. 24.

To T. R. Davidson Esquire,
Officiating Secretary to the Government
of India, Fort William.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of 5 April last* I have the the honor to acquaint you for the information of the Honorable the President in Council, that the Rajah of Keddah has been restored to his Dominions where he has now resided some months, not at Keddah itself but on his side of the river forming the northern boundary of Province Wellesley. It is generally understood that he has taken up his residence at this spot in consequence of distrust of the Siamese Government, but I have received a communication from him in which he informs me that he is about to move into the fort of Quedah.

* *Not copied.*

2. It does not appear that he has been restored to the whole of his former territory, but that his rule is restricted to the portion from Keddah to the frontiers of Perak, while the northern portion is divided between three Malay Chiefs independent of him. These Chiefs appear to have anticipated the Rajah at the Court of Siam and to have obtained these portions of his territory prior to the late negociation.

3. Since his restoration the Rajah appears to have taken forcible possession of a small tract of country, called Krian, claimed by the Chief of Perak, from whom a letter was received by Mr. Garling on the subject, copy of which is enclosed. Mr. Garling forwarded this letter to Keddah enclosed in one from himself, copy of which and of the reply are herewith enclosed. No farther notice has yet been taken of the matter.

* *See infra 5 Jan. 1843.*

* * * * * *

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) G. A. Blundell,
Offg. Govr. Prince of W. Island,
Singapore & Malacca.

Prince of W. Island,
21st June, 1843.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 35.

Fort William the 29 July 1843.

No. 25 (1).

Translation of a letter from Sultan Abdullah Mahomed Sha Eang-de per tuan of Perak addressed to the Honorable Samuel Garling Esqr., Resident Councillor.

On the 18th of Dulkodah (20 December 1842) one of our people named Rajah Lella Pahlawn Panguloo of Krean came to us and reported that part of the territory of Krean under our control had been taken by the Eang de per-tuan of Keddah, and that all his property had been also seized, and that all his followers had been sent away from that place.

We now inform our friend of this circumstance as the Krean territory is not in any way adjoining to the lands of the Eang de per tuan of Kedah, but it is adjoning to those of our friends, and further the territories of Perak are under the protection of our friend. We have therefore to state that this conduct of Eang de per-tuan of Kedah towards us we leave for our friend's consideration.

With the help of God and of our friend we are able to launch ten or twenty prows to retake Krean, but we think that as Krean is close to the lands of the English we therefore leave the matter to be considered by our friend and whatever our friend may judge proper we beg may be imparted to us and we will readily be guided.

Written 4 Dal Hedjah 1258 (5th January 1843).

India Political Consultations. Range 196, Vol. 35.

Fort William the 29th July 1843.

No. 25 (2). The Rajah of Quedah.

(Usual Compliments.)

Herewith I forward to my friend copy of a letter dated 14 Dulhaji, which I have just received from the Iyang de Pertuan of Perak. I beg my friend will advise me of the circumstances under which my friend has seized upon Kariyan, and whether he intends to withdraw from that district.

(Signed) S. Garling

Resident Councillor.

P. W. Island
23d January 1843.

India Political Cousultations, Range 196. Vol. 35.

Fort William the 29th July 1843.

No. 25 (3).

Translation of a letter from Sultan Ahmed Tajudeen Allim Shah addressed to the Honorable S. Garling, Esquire, Acting Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, &ca. &ca.

On the 24th Dulhedjah (25 January 1843) Wednesday evening our friend's letter arrived together with a copy of a letter from Eang de per Tuan of Perak and we understand all that is stated in them.

With regard to Krean we know that in the time of our ancestors it had always been part of the Kedah territory and has descended to us, and we have always ruled over it. Even at the time when we left Kedah and came to live at Pulo Penang the Panghuloos of Krean came and gave account of themselves and brought the revenues to us. From the time when we went to Malacca we no more ruled over Krean as it was too far from us.

Now as the Siamese Rajah has been pleased to have pity on us and returned Kedah and all the places under it in the same state that it was before we did not order the seizure but merely sent to call all the Panghuloos of Krean (independent of those in the Company's land which had been given by our parent) in order to know how matters were as we had been so long away.

Further there are many persons alive in Penang who know that the left side of the Kurow river belongs to Kedah and that the right side going up belongs to Perak.

This is such as we have ever known to be the boundaries between Kedah and Perak, not to say the lands of Krean which is in the middle of territory.*

* *sic.*

Written 25th Dul Hedjah 1258 (26 January 1843).

India Political Consultations. Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 280.

To the Honorable the Acting Governor of
Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I do myself the honor to forward copy of a letter from Mr. James Hayes, a British Merchant at Bangkok, the capital of Siam, transmitting a petition to the Right Honorable the Governor General from himself and two other individuals relative to the obstructions put in the way of trade, and which it is alleged is contrary to the existing treaty between the East India Company and the Siamese Government

It will be seen that one of the petitioners, Anser Saib, is the individual who, by his own confession, was connected with the disgraceful act of smuggling opium, contrary to the well known law of Siam.

I have reason to believe that Mr. Governor Bonham made a reference to Siam concerning the soldiers' jackets and was either satisfied with the explanation afforded by the Siamese authorities, or felt it was a transaction not requiring the further interposition of Government.

Mr. Bonham made a representation to Siam relative to the Sampan pukat trading boat) and the result was that three of the Chinese were released and sent to this Settlement, the boat belonged to Singapore.

It is notorious His Majesty of Siam interferes very considerably with the general commerce of the country. On this point I observed in my annual report dated 24th February 1843.

"The Monarch of Siam is supposed to engross a "considerable portion of the trade of Bankok, the

" capital of his dominions; his interdictions as to the
" export of certain articles would appear to be govern-
" ed by no respectable principle. The British mer-
" chants settled there are becoming seriously appre-
" hensive that unless some reform speedily takes
" place their interest, as well as commerce generally,
" will suffer materially by the short sighted policy of
" the King."

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) T. Church
Resident Councillor.

Singapore
The 25th July 1843.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 281.

Memorial of British Merchants residing in Bangkok Unto the Right Honorable Edward Lord Ellenborough Governor General in Council.

The Memorial of the undersigned British Merchants residing in Bangkok, Siam.

Humbly Sheweth,

That on account of the many obstructions thrown in the way of trade between your memorialists and the Siamese for some time past by the King of Siam, and which obstructions are in direct violation of the existing treaty between the Honorable East India Company and this place, your memorialists are of opinion, unless speedily put a stop to, will eventually prevent trade being carried on between the English and Siamese, and thereby prove detrimental to the revenue of our Sovereign Lady the Queen.

In article 10 of the existing treaty it stipulates "Merchants are forbidden to bring opium which is "positively a contraband article in the territories of "Siam, and should a merchant intrude any the Gov-"ernment shall seize, burn and destroy the whole," whereas in the case of Aniver Saib, a Pulicat merchant residing here, having opium found in his possession, this article was not only confiscated, but Aniver Saib himself bound with irons and thrown into prison, and from which punishment your memorialists submit he was exempted, no clause in the treaty entitling them to commit such severe acts. Again in the case of the capture of a Sampan Puckat off the bar of Siam, in which affair a number of persons, affirmed to have come under the denomination of Asiatic merchants, were inhumanly murdered, and property consisting of sundry lawful merchandize and monies (besides opium) was unlawfully confiscated, the crew

thrown into prison, and subjected to hard labour, under penalty of severe flagellations and starvation, and from the severity of which numbers of them perished.

Your memorialists also conceive that in the case of the Siamese Government giving an order for merchants to bring them articles from foreign countries, it is imperatively required on its part to take those articles when brought according to their instructions, whereas in the case of Aniversaib, aforementioned Pulicat merchant, after having executed an order, which had been given him by this Government for a number of soldiers' jackets, they refused to take them, and the clothing being valueless elsewhere, the merchant has suffered most materially, having laid out of funds for the space of upwards of 4 years to the amount of about 15,000 ticals.

Amongst the articles prohibited by the existing treaty teak wood timber has been exempted from such prohibition, notwithstanding which, Messrs. Hunter and Hayes residing here, having purchased a large quantity of teak wood timber, a refusal was given them by Government to its exportation, although passes had been given hitherto by these officers for large shipments of this article, and no intimation had been given of its future prohibition.

In article 5th of the treaty it specifies that "Merchants subject to the English and their ships, "junks and boats may have intercourse and trade with "any Siamese country which has much merchandize, "and the Siamese will aid and protect them and "permit them to buy and sell with facility;" which article has been violated in many instances of minor importance, but more particularly in the case of a British ship the "Good Success" arriving here for a cargo of sugar, when the Government instead of assisting the British Merchants in the purchase of a

cargo, monopolized the whole trade in that article and the consignees were necessitated to purchase the sugar for the vessel from the Government (or send the vessel away empty) at a price far beyond the then market price, and by which the concerned were losers to a large extent. And your memorialists further pray, that the foregoing grievances may be taken into consideration so that they may be remedied as quickly as possible, trade being almost at a stand still and your memorialists are of opinion, that the trade can not improve until some gentleman be appointed fully authorized to cause a new treaty to be made.

And your Memorialists will ever pray &ca. &ca. &ca.

Dated in Bangkok This 28th Day of May 1843.

Hunter and Hayes
Christopher Harvey

(Sign) Aniversaib.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 284.

To the Honorable T. Church Esquire,
Resident Councillor,
Singapore.

Sir,

In June last year I visited Siam, in the ship which I at present command, say the "Good Success" belonging to Bombay, for the purpose of purchasing a cargo of sugar. On my arrival at Bangkok I requested my agents Messrs. Hunter and Hayes to purchase on account of the owners of the "Good Success" eight thousand peculs of sugar. They called upon a number of the sugar dealers to dispose of their sugar but was astonished to find that His Majesty the King of Siam had issued an order prohibiting them from selling their sugars to any person but himself under severe penalties. My agents called upon Chow Phya Praklang, Prime Minister, and remonstrated with him on the step taken by His Majesty in direct violation of the present existing treaty, but without effect, and was told that they could get no sugar unless purchased from the Government and at a price His Majesty may deem fit to name.

Notwithstanding the prohibition imposed on the native dealers they sold my agents two boat loads, about 800 peculs of sugar, and had commenced to weigh the same when the King's officers came and seized the boats and took possession of the sugar, and deposited the same in the King's stores, the King also dispatched officers up the creek and rivers to meet the boats as they came down from the plantations and seized them in the name of the King and stowed the sugar in his godowns, paying the dealers for the same from 7 to 8 ticals per pecul and the dealers were informed that if they sold sugars to my agents

Messrs. Hunter and Hayes they would be fined and imprisoned and their sugars confiscated.

In consequence of these arbitrary measures I was detained 10 days and my agents were compelled at last to purchase the cargo from the King paying for the same (9) nine ticals per pecul, being one to two ticals more than what they could have purchased sugar at from the dealers themselves and making a loss to the owners of my ship of nearly (12,000) twelve thousand ticals.

As the owners of the "Good Success" are much interested in the trade with Siam, and trading there under the faith of the present existing treaty, I sincerely trust the present case may be taken into your serious consideration and prevent not only those with whom I am connected, but all traders with that country, from falling into the same snare as they did, and hoping that this may be added to any other attestation of facts you may have received on the subject.

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) Wm. Evans.

Singapore
The 29th July 1843.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 35.

Fort William the 29 July 1843.

No. 26.

To the Magistrate of Moorshedabad.

Sir,

Intelligence having been received from the Governor of the Eastern Settlements of the restoration of the Ex Rajah of Quedah to his dominions, I am directed to observe that the Governor General in Council does not see any sufficient reason for the further detention of Twanka Mahomed Saad now in confinement at Moorshedabad, and His Lordship in Council accordingly authorizes the release of the prisoner from restraint, conformably to instructions received to that effect from the Honorable the Court of Directors.

I have &ca.

(Signed) J. Thomason
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William
The 29 July 1843.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 287.

To J. Thomason Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of India
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 16th of September,* with its enclosures, being original documents forwarded by my predecessor regarding the obstructions stated to exist in our commercial intercourse with Siam.

* *Not copied.*

2. On my arrival here I found a letter on the same subject which I forwarded under date the 29th August* without enquiry or comment of any kind, believing that the question was before the Right Honorable the Governor General in all its bearings. I have now examined into the several grievances set forth in the above communications upon which a good deal of light has been thrown by a gentleman recently returned from Bangkok after a four years residence in this the capital of Siam, and who is himself one of the Memorialists.

* *See ante in this Vol.*

3. The ill treatment of Aniver Saib, which has been much exaggerated, was by the showing of the Memorialists, consequent on his acting in direct contravention of the 10th article in the first, or political portion of the Treaty with the Rajah of Siam, and in opposition to the laws of that country, by importing and selling opium, thereby rendering himself liable to punishment in accordance with the 6th article of the latter or Commercial portion of the Treaty.

4. The same may be said with reference to the Sampan Puckat which was conveying opium along the coast; and on being closely pursued, fired into a Siamese war boat, and killed one of the crew; when

captured the opium was discovered in the Puckat and the men thrown into prison, where nine died, one absconded, and the remainder were given up at Mr. Bonham's requisition.

5. We came* again to Aniver Saib who now figures as Rajah's Agent for supplying the troops with clothing. This case was also enquired into by Mr. Bonham and the reply by the Siamese is so satisfactory that I am not surprised further notice of the complaint was deemed unnecessary. The Siamese version of the tale has been confirmed by the subsequent memorial from Anniver Saib which I have the honor herewith to forward. It appears that Anniver Saib had been employed to procure clothing for the Rajah's troops, failing however to bring any for two years a contract was entered into with another party to procure what was required direct from Bombay. Eventually Anniver Saib arrived with a quantity of jackets, when the Rajah offered to take the whole at the same rate as he had obtained his last supply from Bombay. This was refused, and upon this Anniver Saib grounds his grievance.

* *? come.*

6 These sort of bargains are never entered on with Foreign Native Princes without a due consideration to the hazard that is run by making engagements with personages over whom there can be no judicial control. A case of this nature is now pending between the Rajah and one of the mercantile houses here, which would doubtless form a matter of complaint if I had not set my face against it. One of the party concerned, from whom I received the information, stated that his firm had been in the habit of supplying warlike implements to the Rajah for some time, and during the last year, prior to the termination of the War with the Chinese, His Highness ordered 250 Guns of small calibre from England, in anticipation of a visit from some of our ships on their passage to or from China. These guns arrived a month or two

since, but the Rajah having no longer any dread of such a visit in prospect or no further thoughts of making a show of opposition in such a case, has now refused to take the guns, which are thrown upon the agent's hands.

7. In all these matters I cannot see the smallest reason for any movement on the part of the British Government. The direct interference however of the Rajah with the trade and the vexatious duties which from time to time are imposed upon articles of traffic may be deemed worthy of notice. The enclosed letter from Mr. Hayes, the person alluded in the 2d paragraph of this letter will show the extent to which this is carried. I must here observe that the seizure of the boats laden with sugar does not strike me as being so heinous an offence as this letter and the Memorials would imply, for it was known to the purchasers of the sugar that His Majesty had prohibited the sale of this article except through him, and it was therefore an attempt to smuggle, for which the vendors of the sugar were punished. Whether the prohibition or in other words the monopoly of the sale of sugar is in accordance with the tenor of the 1st article of the Commercial Treaty is another question, and one upon which I will not presume to anticipate His Lordship's decision.

* *See infra 1 Nov. 1843.*

8. The heavy duty imposed on square rigged vessels which has been noticed by every person writing on Siam is tantamount almost to their exclusion from the trade. Tock Sing, the principal merchant here, turned this to his own advantage, although not to the extent expected, when he ordered a ship of 300 tons burthen to be built at Bankok in all respects similar to an English vessel of that tonnage, except as regarded the rigging which was made junk fashion. The first year the port dues on her at Siam were 350 ticals, but the next year it was increased to 680 ticals consequent on the quantity of cargo she carried.

This latter sum however is not more than one eighth of what a square rigged vessel carrying the same quantity and quality of merchandize would pay. I cannot but think therefore that if the evil tendency of these restrictions to trade were pointed out to the Rajah, and remonstrated against by the Supreme Authority, there would be little difficulty in putting matters on a better footing.

9. The existing Treaty with Siam was concluded during the Burmese War, after that war had lasted nearly three years, when it was considered of moment to conciliate the adjacent powers. This was not lost upon the Siamese, who are stated to be as cunning as they are cautious and timid. The whole politicag horizon however bears a very different aspect in thesel days, and as I have before observed the Siamese were for many months in a sad state of alarm at hearing of our triumph in China and the prospect of a visit from us. Chain cables (sold to His Majesty by the very party who have now failed in their speculation with the guns) were drawn across the river Main, at the entrance to which the fortifications were repaired and others commenced upon, with a view of making some show of opposition, which it is universally believed would never have been offered, had their fears been realized.

10. His Lordship will be able to form a just estimate of the trade carried on between this port and Siam by the abstract statement of exports and imports noted in the margin* since 1826/27, the period at which the above Treaty was concluded, to the present time. I think it right to add that from all enquiry I have been enabled to make, it is by no means proable that any very great encrease may be expected even were the restrictive duties taken off square rigged vessels, for the chief articles of import are salt and sugar, as will be seen by the annexed detailed extract* from the official trade report of this year, and these

* *See end of letter*

* *Not copied.*

articles brought on junks do not give more than a remunerating profit, but it would certainly gratify the merchants here, and the house of Messrs. Hunter and Hayes particularly, if a remonstrance were deemed necessary, and I think such a measure would tend to do good throughout the Malayan Archipelago, where the Petty Chiefs have assumed a tone quite inconsistent with their insignificance.

I have the honor &ca.

(Signed) W. B. Butterworth
Governor Prince of Wales Island
Singapore and Malacca.

Singapore
The 8th Novr. 1843.

ABSTRACT STATEMENT OF THE ANNUAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS TO AND FROM SIAM.

	1826/27	1827/28	1828/29	1829/30
Imports Drs. ...	148,669	211,622	281,938	255,757
Exports ,, ...	218,955	131,030	366,298	337,642

	1830/31	1831/32	1832/33	1833/34
Imports Drs. ...	141,142	210,680	219,462	196,822
Exports ,, ...	200,007	226,428	239,191	142,604

	1834/35	1835/36	1836/37	1837/38
Imports Drs. ...	159,141	176,791	345,012	279,872
Exports ,, ...	191,083	233,086	216,980	377,791

	1838/39	1839/40	1840/41	1841/42
Imports Drs. ...	305,272	259,273	326,341	409,463
Exports ,, ...	289,512	483,578	211,597	229,891

India Political
Consultations,
Range 196,
Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 291.

To the Honble. Colonel Butterworth
Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I beg leave to lay before you the following statement regarding the commercial intercourse between the English and Siamese, from which you will observe that the latter have gradually assumed a tone quite at variance to the present existing treaty.

From the time of my arrival in Siam in 1835 up till 1839-40 trade had been carried on amicably between the natives and ourselves, without the interference of the Government, and as our transactions were large, and selling goods at a credit necessarily threw a large amount of our funds into the hands of the natives, as their mode of payment had been principally produce (the exportation of ticals being prohibited) we never doubted but the smooth state of things would continue. However, that was not allowed to be the case. The King having turned merchant himself caused all dealers in sugar to sell the same to him only and on no account to trade with European merchants, under penalty of fines and imprisonment. This threw us into an awkward situation having a large amount out, in the hands of the natives, our only mode of obtaining payment of the amount was denied us. Besides these restrictions in regard to the natives' transactions with us, the duties on all kinds of produce have been raised to such an exorbitant extent as alone to amount almost to a prohibition. These duties have been exacted in direct violation to the existing Treaty, as in Article 1st of the agreement annexed to it, it distinctly says "No import, export or other duty shall be levied upon the buyers or export sellers from or to Europeans." Remon-

strance has been used with the Siamese against the injustice of these restrictions, but without effect; indeed as soon as they found they could levy these duties with impunity, recourse was had to other means to extort money from the European merchants of the place. In 1841 my firm in Siam had purchased up a very large quantity of teakwood timber. The exportation of this article having been allowed hitherto, no suspicion had been entertained of a prohibition of this article, more particularly so, as the officers of the Siamese Government were aware of our buying up the said timber. If the Siamese had informed us before, or while buying this article, that they would not have allowed it to be exported, it would have prevented a very serious loss; but they did not do so until it was in the act of being shipped, and as it was principally purchased by barter, the price it commanded in Siam when resold, left us very heavy losers. Again in the case of the "Good Success" arriving in Siam to purchase a cargo of sugar, the Government monopolised the whole trade in this article, and actually seized two boats of sugar, which had been previously purchased by me, and which were laying at the time in front of the British Factory. This act was in direct violation of the Treaty, as in Article 6th of the said Treaty it says "Merchants subject to the Siamese or English going to trade in Bengal or any country, or any other country subject to the English, or at Bangkok or any other country subject to the Siamese must pay the duties upon commerce according to the customs of the place on either side, and such merchants and the inhabitants of the country shall be allowed to buy without the intervention of other persons in such countries." Here the Siamese have not only interfered in the matter of buying and selling but actually seized the article after it had been purchased and threatened to flog and imprison any native merchants who should sell this article to Europeans. The price this sugar was purchased originally at was eight ticals, but when repurchased

from the King, which I was necessitated to do after detaining the ship for ten days, I was obliged to pay him nine ticals, being one tical per pecul more than the then market price, and which on a ship of large tonnage amounts to a very large sum, and which, added to the already enormous measurement duty on the vessel, could not fail of leaving a very serious loss. I would wish particularly to draw your attention to the large capital we have now in the hands of the Native Merchants, and which we can in no way recover, unless the system of monopoly by Government be put an end to; and craving your kind influence to cause an inquiry in the matter.

I have the honor &c.,
(Signed) JAMES HAYES.

Singapore
The 1st November 1843.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 288.

Translation of a letter from the Chowe Peeah Praklang Senah Body, Great Man of Beenooah Praak Maha Nakun Sree Ahyou-teeah (!) in Siam to the Honble. S. G. Bonham Esqre., Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

We have received our friend's letter together with a list of goods and their value by Captain Jackson of the Bombay ship Kusravey, in which letter our friend was informed that 18 Chinese belonging to a Sampan Pukat had been put in irons at Siam for having smuggled opium into a Chinese prow or Junk and that these men were from Singapore. In reference to the Treaty entered into between the English and Siamese it is provided that those who were found smuggling opium in Siam the opium only was to be seized and burnt, but it appears that the Siamese have exceeded the spirit of the Treaty by having not only confiscated all the merchandize and goods of a great many Chinese who trade in Siam, but imprisoned and killed them. Our friend has learnt this account from what has been simply stated by the Chinese and on such information has written a report of it to His Majesty the King of Siam requesting the release of the Chinese alluded to with the delivery of the goods which are not prohibited by the Treaty, and that they may be sent back to Singapore; it is further stated that a Chief or Minister belonging to Siam had slain seven of the Chinese of the Sampan Pukat. If our friend wish to continue the friendship which exists between us we request that a proper investigation may be made into the subject to ascertain the truth of what has been reported to our friend by the Chinaman, that there might be no occasion of misunderstanding hereafter between us. Our friend's letter appears to contain statements of undoubted

facts and hence our friend's peremptory request to release these men. That a Chinaman, named Koeh Hoopeng, a four years resident of Singapore, who had frequently traded in several Malayan ports stated to our friend that himself and 31 other Chinese sailed on the 11th day of the 3d month (March 1839) to the eastward as far as Canton, with a quantity of opium and other British goods. After selling a chest of opium and some goods they were obliged in consequence of some disturbance there to proceed to Sengorah, but owing to contrary winds they went to the Soomut Pakan. That on the 29th day of the 3d month of the year Aujing (Dog) the Noquedah of the Sampan Pukat sailed to the country Bunlam, where they sold seven chests of opium, value of each 1,000 kope, but the Noquedah received only 4,000 kope from that country, then he went to Anghin, where they saw five boats coming out of Siam. The five boats approached the sampan pukat when the men of the Siamese boats hoisted their colours to intimate that they were the guard vessels belonging to the Siamese. The Chinese seeing that the guard vessels had would not believe that they were such, but on being spoken to and desired by them to lower the pukat colours they complied, when two of the guard boats fired into the Sampan Pukat and shot a Chinaman dead. The whole five boats then attacked the Sampan, some of the Chinese jumped into the sea and the chief of the gun boats boarded the Sampan and cut the Chinese Noquedah with a sword and threw him overboard. The informant Koeh Hoopeng and three other Chinese were tied to the mast of the guard boat. The Sampan Pukat was carried to the country of Soomut Pakan, where 25 Chinese were landed and from thence carried to Siam before Tan Senah Body to whom they were reported as belonging to a Chinese pirate prow. They told Tan Senah Body they were not pirates, but people belonging to Singapore who were trading in the Malayan ports, as will

* *? word in the original is 'appelun' but there appears also to be an omission of a line.*

appear from documents they possessed at the time that they had sold opium and [? at] Banlam where they had obtained some silver and that the goods and merchandize contained in the Sampan Pakat had been taken on credit from the different Merchants at Singapore. Tan Senah Body said in reply that if they were people who came from Singapore there should have been some paper or document to that effect. He then ordered them to land the cargo of the Sampan and the whole of the Chinese 24 in number together with the Nocquedah, who had been wounded, were ordered to be placed in irons. That in consequence of their keeper having overworked them 7 of their number died; 15 months after Koeh Hoopeng made his escape to our friend who had sent his statement together with a list of the goods belonging to them.* * * * All that our friend has written from what has been reported by China Koeh Hoopeng, together with the list, we perfectly comprehend. We now have to solicit our friend not to credit a report coming from such a person as the informant, China Koeh Hoopeng. It is not usual for such a Sampan Pukat as that belonging to him to sail about the neighbourhood of Siam.

* *The detailed list has been omitted.*

On the 6th month of the year Aujing (Dog) Pia Chumpoon reported that on the 4th month of the year Ahyam (Fowl) in the district of Toongka, about a day's journey from a place called Chumpoon, the Pungulu Allawang Appie, in charge of the said district, during his absence at Chayal, had his house plundered, and his wife wounded by the gang of Chinese belonging to the Sampan Pukat. The Chinese enquired of her where all her valuables were kept, they then pillaged not only the Pungulu's house, but all the houses in that neighbourhood, in consequence of which the inhabitants fled into the jungle. The amount of property plundered on that occasion was estimated at 18,000 kopes. After this the Pia

Chumpoon and Kamkan directed the guard vessels to go in pursuit of the Sampan Pukat but did not fall in with it.

On the third month of the year Anjin (Dog) Peeah Pye Gee-booree and Peeah Tee booree (!) sent a letter stating that a Sampan Pukat had entered their countries not with any intention of trading but coasted all along those countries carrying on illicit traffic in opium with all the people about the sea coast. The Sampan Pukat was seen in almost all the creeks and other *inaccessible places for 2 or 3 days together and then sail* out to sea. Whenever the Sampan met with any of the Siamese or Chinese trading prows she invariably captured them and plundered all their goods. The Chiefs of these two countries sent guard vessels to go after her, but whenever they came in sight the Sampan would set sail and get off. When His Majesty Prah Bat Lam deet Prahk Put Chou Hooah Beemooah Prakh Maha Nakoon Sree Ahyou tuah (!), the King of Siam, heard of the piratical acts of these Chinese he issued strict orders to all the Chiefs of the Maritime ports to send guard vessels after the Sampan Pukat and such other boats and prows which contain opium or commit piracies in their neighbourhood, and that vessels found sailing about without proper passes from the ports of Singapore or other places, people who come under pretence of wishing to trade, like the Chinese belonging to the Sampan Pukat, should in case of having opium on board be seized and captured, the opium to be destroyed or burnt, and the rest of the cargo to be distributed to the captors as prizes. This is in accordance with the old established laws of Siam.

* *sic.*

* *sic. ? sailed.*

On the 5th month of the year Koorah (horse) a guard vessel of the country Scomut Pakan sailed in chase after the Sampan Pukat, and when within gun shot of her the Sampan first fired a couple of shots into the guard vessel, which occasioned a fight

of nearly an hour. The fire of the Sampan killed two of the Siamese, the Panglima then boarded the Sampan with his men, some of the Chinese resisted and others leaped into the sea. The number who thus perished was not ascertained but those captured were 25. The Sampan Pukat and the 25 Chinese were taken to Somut Pakan and from thence to Siam, were His Majesty Prahk Bat Sam deet Prahk Peet Chowe Hooah Benooah Prahk Maha Nakoon Sree Ahyou teeah, the King of Siam (!), questioned where they came from. They replied from Singapore. Where is your pass and what colours do you carry? They said they had neither. Under such circumstances His Majesty the King of Siam was fully convinced that they were no other people than pirates. In searching the Sampan Pukat it was found that she contained 23 chests of opium which were burnt and the remainder of the cargo distributed agreeably to His Majesty's directions amongst the people of the guard vessel who captured the Sampan, but not as stated detained in Siam. All that the informant China Koeh Hoopeng has stated to our friend is false, in as much as this individual was not the Noquedah but one of the crew of the Sampan. The Noquedah of her is now at Siam and his name is China Teeheng Seesake, who when questioned what was the cargo of the Sampan Pukat, said she contained white cloths in rolls, two boxes long cloths of 70 cubits 75 pieces, green cloth 80 corges, Malacca black 18 corges, Malay cloth 15 corges, handkerchiefs 6 corges, flowered red cloth 9 corges, white thread 11 peculs, yellow thread 1 pecul, black thread 4 peculs, red thread 2 peculs, fine twine 1 pecul, dried China fruit 1 pecul, iron bars 20 peculs, silver value of opium sold at Bunlam, 3970 kopes. This is the saying of the Noquedah Teheng. It is written in the 10th article of the treaty that all foreigners whether English, Malays or Chinese, who wish to trade with Siam, must produce a pass from the English autho-

rities to say that they are permitted to travel by land or sea as the case may be from an English port to Siam, and further that such persons wishing to trade at Siam, were not to traffic in opium, and if they knowingly persisted in carrying on illicit trade in this prohibited article His Majesty the King of Siam was to seize and burn the opium found in their possession. In the 6th article of the treaty it is provided that all British subjects, whether Malays, Dutch or Chinese who come and trade at Siam in any ship or vessel carrying Burmese crews were to be captured by the Siamese and their cargoes forfeited, and the parties liable to all the penalties and punishments prescribed by the Siamese laws and may other provisions contained in the treaty which are not necessary here to epeat.

It is also written in the treaty that all foreigners who will not abide by the rules and customs of Siam but resist the authorities and oppress the inhabitants of the country, commit murder, steal or behave themselves disrespectfully towards the great men of Siam such person shall be considered as great offenders and after investigation if it be proved that murder has been committed, death shall be awarded, and if other minor offence be committed by Commanders or officers of foreign vessels they shall only be fined, but if committed by other persons lower in degree than the above, they shall on proof be either flogged or put in irons agreeably to the established laws of Siam.

Again it is provided that if any European, wishing to settle at Siam for the purpose of trading, the Governor General of Bengal was to restrict such person from using any disrespectful manner or language to the inhabitants of Siam, and if on the other hand any of the people of the country should oppress an European, the offender would be punished. These Chinese belonging to these Sampan Pukats have on very many occasions been found smuggling opium at Siam and

committing acts of piracy, murder, rapine and all sorts of crimes for years past. This one in particular has been so bold as to fight with a guard vessel and to kill her Panglima or Commander and those Chinese are liable to be sentenced to death, but His Majesty the King of Siam being very merciful towards all men has simply put them in confinement and in awarding such sentence against these Chinese His Majesty the King of Siam does not exceed or depart from the provision of the 6th article of the treaty.

On the 4th day of the 2d month of the year Anjing (Dog) a vessel laden with opium, the Noquedah of which was a Chinaman named Kung Seng and the officer an European came and anchored outside in the yellow waters, and on the 4th month of the year Anjing (Dog) another vessel commanded by a Chinaman named Beng Cheum, having also an European for an officer came and anchored at the same place with a cargo of opium. The 2 Chinese Noquedahs landed and reported to the head man or Magistrate of Siam that they came from Singapore and had brought long cloths, white thread and iron bars and that they wished to trade at Siam on the same footing as before, and if they were permitted to do so they would enter in, but if not return back to Singapore. After this the two Nocquedahs went and carried on an illicit trade in opium with the other Chinese residing at Siam, on the understanding that the purchasers were to take the opium from their vessels which were lying outside. Three or four days after the Nocquedahs came and told the head man that the goods they had brought were unsaleable and there were no purchasers. They requested permission to return to Singapore when a pass was granted them. Instead of sailing away they merely moved a little further outside when the Chinese inhabitants carried on smuggling to a great extent. When these two vessels were about to sail the Magistrate suspected that a great

quantity of opium had been imported and on enquiry amongst the Chinese 42 chests of opium were found.

Again another vessel belonging to Mr. Hunter brought a quantity of opium which was sold to China Lee-an in the year Anjing. This circumstance was not known at the time, but when it was discovered that the Chinaman had purchased the opium from Mr. Hunter, no punishment was inflicted upon Mr. Hunter, but only upon the Chinaman. After this a ship from Bombay, commanded by Noquedah Azim, came with a cargo of opium which was sold to China-Lee-ho clandestinely. When detected the Chinaman confessed he had purchased 2½ chests from Noquedah Azim. On this occasion likewise the punishment fell upon the Chinaman and the Nocquedah was let off. Another vessel from Bombay commanded by Noquedah Mohamed Ariff with an officer named Dicy came to trade at Siam. A Dutch seacunny belonging to that vessel brought 35 catties of opium on shore for sale, but was immediately detected and the opium seized and burnt, but the man was let off unpunished.

Another person by the name of Moorsaw, a Madras man who had been settled at Siam for many years with a wife and several children was reported to the Minister Sena Bodhi that he was carrying on an illicit trade in opium. Moorsaw was apprehended and examined, but he denied having done so; six months after when Moorsaw's young wife had quarrelled with him, she gave information against her husband Moorsaw and said that a quantity of opium was secreted under his house. On search being made 13 balls of opium were found. On this occasion His Majesty the King remonstrated with Moorsaw and told him that he had now been residing for many years in Siam and was aware of the rules and customs of the place, had married a wife and begotten several children. That he should have denied the circum-

stance of his having carried [on] this trade in opium when questioned by the Minister and for telling a falsehood Moorsaw was ordered to be put in irons for 16 days, merely as a warning, after which he was let off.

All vessels under British colours trading at Siam if detected in bringing a cargo of opium, the opium alone is seized and burnt, but none of the crew ever punished or confined according to the articles of the treaty.

The Chinese belonging to the Sampan Pukat did not come to Siam for the purpose of traffic, but brought opium and sold it to all the people on the sea coast. This is acting contrary to the treaty, and they are accordingly punished according to the laws of Siam

That our friend's request for the release of these Chinese and delivery of such unprohibited goods belonging to them to be returned together with the Chinese to Singapore is considered by His Majesty the King of Siam as a mark of friendship, but all that the Chinaman named Koeh Hoopeng has stated is positively false. That these Chinese have without doubt entered the Siamese territories and, committed all kinds of crimes with impunity and were so bold as to fight the guard boat and kill her Panglima. This is a great crime and if committed in an English country would be viewed in the same light. This is given as our real opinion on the subject which we communicate to our friend, requesting our friend to weigh the matter well and see into the merit of the case, after which as a mark of friendship another letter on the subject might be sent to us. We have dispatched this letter in the Siamese and another copy in the Malayan language, both containing the same subject.

Written on the 2d day of the 3d month Sunday Sakerat Siam 1202 year of the Rat.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 289.

Translation of a letter from the Chou Phya Praklang Prime Minister to His Majesty the King of Siam to the Honble. S. G. Bonham Esqre., Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

There is a large quantity of cloth brought at the request of a captain (Siamese) from the Coromandel Coast. The name of the Pulicat merchant is Attra. It has reached Bangkok. This captain does not wish to take the cloth as it is not according to muster and cannot be sold elsewhere, because, it has been made expressly for the Siamese. If the Siamese Captain does not take the cloth the Pulicat merchant will be a heavy loser. The Emperor desires that Mr. Bonham will have the goodness to enquire of the Noquedah if he will suffer or not should the cloth not be taken. Cloth also was sent by a chief person at Pulicat called Mutsait (Chew Sap) in his vessel, the Noquedah of which was An Noot Sap. It arrived at Siam and brought a letter from Mutsait and mentioned that any thing His Majesty wanted to send to Pulicat should be sent in that vessel, and his Majesty wished to have a quantity of cloth (Layang) to make uniform for his troops and had given him muster to be taken at Pulicat.

In the English era 1831 An Noot Sap went to Pulicat and brought the cloth. The Emperor got 200 jackets made of it, the cost Drs. 2 per jacket for his guards. Further the Emperor requested that more of this kind should be sent, to the number of 997 pieces, making in all for the troops 697 (*sic!*) pieces, which was received. But it was not enough, and another order was given to An-wa-sap to bring more. But the Noquedah has informed us that the cloth could not be got that year, but perhaps it might afterwards.

An-wa-sap has remained in Siam and sent another person in his stead to Pulicat, but for two years no cloth was received, and An-wa-sap said the cloth had not yet been made and now four years have elapsed, and the Pulicat merchant now says that formerly this cloth could be sold at the former rate but not now This being deceptive conduct. But matters have been settled.

The Emperor therefore ordered Md. Asim, a Bombay Nakhoda, to bring the cloth for 6 dollars and 2 rupees per piece, and he had taken away a pattern. Now, in the English year 1838, the Emperor received from the said Md. Asim the quantity of 3,500 and the price has been paid and settled as An-wa-sap knows and the Emperor has requested Md. Asim to bring still more cloth from Bombay.

In 1839 (year English) Phra Khlang got a ship loaded which went to Singapore to trade and returned to Siam. An-wa-sap's correspondent at Singapore took up the vessel on her return voyage, and sent goods to Siam, and with these cloth for the troops, to 4,000 jackets. An-wa-sap offered this cloth to His Majesty for sale. The Emperor said that if he would sell it at the same rate that the Bombay merchant had done he would buy it. His Majesty wishes to be informed if this man, An-wa-sap, has reported any of these things to Mr. Bonham in order to throw blame on the Siamese. For had An-wa-sap performed his agreement His Majesty would not have sent to Bombay for cloth, and as His Majesty will be supplied yearly from Bombay in future. Also the supply at present is more than sufficient for the troops. This letter is merely to inform Mr. Bonham of these transactions and to request Mr. Bonham to send back a reply in the Siamese and Malayan languages.

Dated Wednesday in the 1st month year Khan.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 285.

To the Governor Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 29th August last,* with its enclosure from the Master of the ship "Good Success,*" complaining of the obstructions thrown in the way of trade by the King of Siam, and in reply to inform you that it does not appear to be established that the King has by the proceedings described in your despatch under reply directly violated any article of the existing treaty and that the interference of the Government of India is not under the circumstances considered necessary.

* *Not copied.*

* *See ante, No. 284.*

I have the honor &ca.
(Signed) T. R. Davidson
Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William
the 27th January 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William the 27th January 1844.

No. 292.

To Lieut. Colonel W. J. Butterworth, C. B.
Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch dated 8th November* last relative to the obstructions which are alleged to exist in our commercial intercourse with Siam and in reply to inform you that there does not appear to be a violation of any article of the existing treaty on the part of the King of Siam nor does His Honor the President in Council consider the interference of the British Government at present required.

* *See same series, vol. 45.*

I have the honor to be &ca.

(Signed) T. W. Davidson
Officiating Secretary to
the Government of India.

Fort William
the 27th January 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 48.

Fort William the 23d March 1844.

No. 50

To the Officiating Secretary
to the Government of India
Fort William.

Sir,

With reference to the 2d paragraph of a letter under date the 21st June 1843*, from the late Officiating Governor Mr. Blundell, bringing to notice tha the Governor of Quedah since his restoration to power, had forcibly taken possession of a small tract of country called Krean, claimed by the Rajah of Perak and submitting a correspondence on the subject between Mr. Garling and those Chiefs. I have the honor to state that—

* *See same range, Vol. 35.*

2. On my arrival at Penang I received from the Rajah of Perak direct, and through the Resident Councillor, the enclosed letters*, the one addressed to Mr. Blundell and the other to the Superintendent of Province Wellesley. After making most minute and particular enquiries on the spot, and satisfying myself that the Governor of Quedah had unjustly seized upon the Krean country, and that a collision between the two parties would most certainly tend to the plunder of the inhabitants of that part of Province Wellesley bordering the Krean country, I directed the Rajah of Perak not to make any hostile movement for three months and appointed a meeting with the Rajah of Quedah which he did [not] choose to attend but sent his son Tuanku Dye, to whom I explained matters and urged him to induce his father to withdraw from Krean.

* *See infra for one of those.*

3. When about to leave Penang I addressed the enclosed letter to the Governor of Quedah, as also the one to the Rajah of Ligore,* under whose immediate orders the Governor of Quedah manages his

* *See infra for these.*

country. The tone and tenor of the Rajah of Quedah's reply,* lead me at once to lay the question before His Honor the President in Council with a view to my being favoured with definite instructions how to act in the event of hostilities being carried on between the Rajah of Perak and Governor of Quedah.

* *See infra.*

4. The intimate knowledge of Major Low with the boundaries of Perak and Quedah territories as well as the parties most immediately concerned, induced me soon after my return here to call upon him for a report on the subject. A copy of this report with a plan* showing the disputed territory in question I have the honor herewith to forward, by which it will be perceived, as I have previously mentioned, that this is a most wanton and unjustifiable seizure of the Krean district by the Governor of Quedah, the validity of whose right and title is most completely nullified, even on his own showing, for the man whom he states as having been deputed by him to take possesion of Krean was his nephew (not his son) and a noted freebooter, withall, who possessed himself of the north rather than the south bank of the Krean river to the terror and dismay of the inhabitants of Province Wellesley.

* *See infra for the report. The plan is omitted*

5. The 2d and 3d articles of the treaty concluded under date the 18th October 1826 with the Rajah of Perak, wherein we guarantee "assistance in expelling from the country any Siamese or Malays who may at any time enter the Perak country with the political views or for the purpose of interfering in any way with the Government of His Majesty" lead me most unhesitatingly to recommend that I may be authorized to withhold the stipend promised in the 1st Article of the treaty between the British Government and the Rajah of Quedah till he shall have entirely withdrawn for one whole year to the north of the Krean River, and that I may be furnished with a strong

letter of remonstrance from His Honor the President in Council to the Rajah of Siam to be forwarded in the event of my letter to the Rajah of Ligor failing to produce the desired effect.

6. The multiplicity of correspondence on record regarding the Rajah of Quedah will have made His Honor acquainted with the wily character of this obstinate old man. If, as he states, his conduct has been dictated by the Siamese authorities, there can be little doubt that their views extend to the whole of Perak, and it therefore more especially behoveth us to move at once in this matter.

7. Under any circumstances I most respectfully urge that he may be made to withdraw to the former boundary of Quedah, and as the most decisive method of effecting this without bloodshed and convincing him of his wilful error in regard to the tenure on which we hold Penang, that his annual stipend be stopped till he has done so for one whole year.

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth
Governor of Prince of Wales
Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Singapore
7th February 1844.

India Political Consultations. Range 196, Vol. 48.

Fort William the 23d March 1844.

No. 51.
[1848.]

Translation of a letter from Sultan Abdullah Mahomed Shah, Rajah of Perak, to the Honourable E. A. Blundell Esquire, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

I wish to inform my friend that the countries of Pulo Penang and Perak are indissolubly united by treaty and friendship. That in the Hijera 1241 Mr. John Anderson, on behalf of the Honourable Company, proceeded to Perak to meet Sultan Abdulla Moollum Shah and entered into a treaty of alliance, and again in the Hijera 1242 Captain James Low, as Envoy to the Honorable the Governor in Council of Pulo Penang, also went to Perak and made a treaty, one copy of which remains with each party, and by the assistance of the English Government the reigning Rajahs of Perak have remained as independent Rajahs up to the present time. I consequently never wished to break any of the agreements that were entered into.

Moreover ever since the countries of Pulo Penang and Perak became allied no wrong has been done or offence given, but all has continued well. Now I wish to inform my friend about the District of Krean which lies on the bank of Soonger Krean on my side of the river. I am informed that when the Rajah of Kedah received back his territory of Kedah, people came from Kedah and forcibly seized and took the district of Krean, that was under my dominion, and said they did so by orders of the Rajah of Kedah; they also spoiled the country and plundered the inhabitants. They likewise plundered Pangholoo Jumahat or Rajah Lela Pehalawan and drove him away.

This Pangholoo Jumahat was placed by me in authority there with the approval of Captain James Low, because that Krean adjoins the country of Pulo Penang and is rather distant from Perak but is near to my friend, so that in case of any disturbance my friend may soon have knowledge of it. The Pangholoo of Krean has come to inform me of the matters respecting Krean and I would wish to send a large armament to Krean to take it back, but should I do so without the knowledge and concurrence of my friend I fear I might be infringing the treaties. I immediately after receiving information forwarded a letter to the Honorable Samuel Garling Esquire,* Resident Councillor of Prince of Wales Island, and one to Mr. Ferrier,* Superintendent of Province Wellesley, and a long time has elapsed [but] I have not received any answers. The reasons for this I am not aware of.

* *See ante, Vol. 35 of this series.*

* *Not copied.*

Being informed of the arrival of my friend to succeed Mr. Bonham who has returned to England I have the greatest hopes that my friend will favor me with a reply, and assist me according to the terms of the treaty existing between the English Company and myself. From the remotest time the District of Krean belonged to Perak and of this my friend is well aware. With Compliments.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 48.

Fort William the 23d March 1844.

From the Honorable Colonel Butterworth, &ca. &ca.
To the Governor of Quedda &ca. &ca.

(After Compliments.)

I sent for my friend consequent on intelligence having reached me that he had passed over, seized upon and retained possession of the District of Krean, hitherto considered as the undisputed property of the Rajah of Perak.

I think it right before leaving Penang to repeat what I said to my friend's son Tuanku Dye, vizt., that during the period Tuanku Annum continued as the representative of the Siamese Authority in Quedah no question was made as to whom the District of Krean belonged, and that Tuanku Annum never for a moment attempted to exercise any jurisdiction there, on the contrary the Krean district was universally considered as appertaining to the Rajah of Perak.

It is very much to be regretted that my friend so immediately on his restoration to power should have made this aggression on the neighbouring territories of Perak, as it will probably lead to hostilities with the Rajah of that country, who would long since have commenced had I not requested him to desist till I should see my friend and induce him to withdraw to his own country on the south bank of the Krean river.

At present I have not written to the Supreme Government, but I must shortly do so unless my friend listens to my advice and gives up the territory he has recently seized upon, for if hostilities be once commenced on the borders of Province Wellesley I may be forced to adopt measures which will be very detrimental to the future interests of my friend and his family.

Prince of Wales Island
9th December 1843.

India Political
Consultations,
Range 196,
Vol. 48.

Fort William the 23d March 1844.

To the Rajah of Ligore &ca. &ca.

(After Compliments.)

I write to my friend consequent on the receipt of a letter from the Rajah of Perak, who informs me that the Governor of Quedha, under some misapprehension of the right of territory on the south bank of the Sungie Krean River, has seized upon and retained possession of the District of Krean hitherto considered as the undisputed property of the Rajah of Perak.

During the period Tuankoo Annum continued as representative of the Siamese Authority in Quedha no question was made as to whom the district of Krean belonged and Tuanku Annum never for a moment attempted to exercise any jurisdiction, on the contrary the Krean District was, as I have before observed, universally considered as appertaining to the Rajah of Perak.

It is very much to be regretted that the present Governor of Quedha, so immediately on his restoration to power, should have made the aggression on the neighbouring territory of Perak, as it will infallibly lead to hostilities between the two countries and may force me to adopt measures for the protection of Province Wellesley, which will be detrimental to both the contending parties.

Being anxiously desirous of preventing such a state of affairs, I have requested the Rajah of Perak not to make any hostile movement till I can hear from my friend to whom I have addressed this letter, in the hope that he will remonstrate with the Governor of Quedah and induce him to withdraw his people to the north side of the Krean River, if, as I have every reason to believe, from the intercourse which has

hitherto subsisted between the Rajah of Perak and the Settlements committed to my governance, as also from the tacit acknowledgment of the Rajah of Siam prior to the return of the present Governor to Quedah, that the country south of the Krean river forms part of the Rajah of Perak's territory.

I shall be glad to hear from my friend at an early period and it will afford me infinite satisfaction if his views coincide with mine on this subject, when I feel assured that steps will be taken to induce the Governor of Quedah to withdraw to his own territory and preclude the necessity of the Rajah of Perak going to war to maintain his right to that boundary, hitherto unquestioned, which nature appears to have formed between the Perak and Quedah countries.

Prince of Wales Island
9th December 1843.

From the Honorable Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Honorable the Military Order of the Bath, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 48.

Fort William the 23d March 1844.

No. 51 contd.

Translation
of a letter from Sultan Ahmad Tajoodin Hallim Shah
To the Honorable Colonel Butterworth C. B.
Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

I have received my friend's letter on the 7th day of the Hajee month stating that I was disturbing at Krean river the peace of the Perak country. I wish to acquaint my friend that from the time of my grandfather before the English Company had asked to rent Pulo Penang, Krean was under my father's government. My friend can learn this from old residents. When Mr. Ibbetson was Governor he sent me to Malacca, contrary to agreement with the Company. Moreover, I have heard that Captain Low gave the Krean river to the Perak people, a thing which is contrary to the custom of former Governors from Mr. Light's time upwards to Governor Phillip and Governor Fullerton.

At the time of the latter I was ordered to go and reside at Penang and I sent my son Tuanku Zein al Abdin to go and rule Krean from the then north boundary to the mouth of the river Korow, and according to the state of things in my grandfather's and ancestor's time and according to orders, and which have not been departed from up to the present day. I can show my friend these chops and documents.

Moreover the King of Siam *ordered* me to go and subdue Perak and annex it to Siam. My friend can look at the registry of such papers and will there find the agreement of my father with the English

Company. Now I would have sooner replied to my friend's letter but the gun boat returned so soon that I had not time.

Dated 7th day of the Bulon Haji month Dulhaijah (27th December).

India Political Consultations, Range 196. Vol. 48.

Fort William the 23d March 1844.

No. 52.

To the Honorable Lieutenant Colonel Butterworth, C.B.
Governor of Prince of Wales Island
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th ultimo,* directing me to report most fully on the right and title or otherwise of the Governor of Keddah to the Krean country.

* *Not copied.*

2. The Krean river is the largest betwixt the Murda river in Keddah and the Perak River. It is deep and broad and its course, which inclines a few degrees to the southward of east, forms a very natural and distinct line of demarcation betwixt the countries of Perak and Keddah, from the sea on the West to the mountains on the East, which last run parallel to the coast at a distance of from at least 35 to 40 miles. The ceded district of Province Wellesley occupies about 10 miles of the north bank of the river upwards from the sea and the boundary pillar, and the direct distance is 6 miles.

3. That this was the extreme boundary betwixt Perak and Keddah when the latter had become fully colonized is in some degree manifested by the total absence of any vestiges of population on the Keddah and Province Wellesley side of the river to a distance of ten miles at least from its bank, while the country still further north and especially those tracts bordering on the Muda river, where the first Keddah Chiefs settled, display in the ruins of forts and temples and other buildings traces of a dense population. These traces disappear before reaching the *Pry* river just opposite to Penang, and as no mention is made in the History of Keddah which I received from the

Ex Rajah (or present Governor of part of Keddah) himself of either the Pry or the Krean river, I am inclined to think that the limit of Keddah to the south did not in former times, *i. e.*, from three to four hundred years ago, extend beyond the Pry river.

4. When Penang was ceded to the British in 1786 it was natural that the authorities there should have enquired about its limits. I cannot at this moment find the Government Record to which I would refer, as I have not the date, but Lieutenant Colonel, then Captain H. Burney, who was Envoy from the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in 1825/6 to the Court of Siam, refers to it in his public report of his proceedings when sent on a political visit to the Rajah of Ligor in lower Siam, subsequently to his mission to the capital of Siam. He therein observes that he told the Rajah of Ligor that Captain Light, the first Superintendent of Penang, had reported that the river Krean in N. Lat. 5: 10 was then and always had been the boundary betwixt Keddah and Perak, and that this boundary was laid down in a chart of the Malayan coast which Mr. Lindsay had constructed shortly after the cession of Penang. It will be presently shown why this question was then mooted at all. Colonel Burney must have been fully convinced of the validity of these arguments, which he used in his political capacity, for in a chart of the Malayan coast which he himself compiled dated 10th April 1825, and which was presented by him to the Right Honble. the Governor General, the Krean river is laid down as the mutual boundary of Keddah and Perak.

In 1813 the rajah of Keddah, or rather Governor of that country under the Siamese Government, was ordered by the latter to invade and subdue Perak, because the Rajah of that State asserted the independence which had been transmittted to him by his predecessors. This Rajah (the present Ex Rajah,

but as above stated, now the Governor of a portion only of Keddah) nothing loth as it should seem, obeyed the mandate, and Perak sustained for a while all the miseries consequent on such an unprovoked and unprincipled aggression. I am unable positively to state whether in retiring from Perak this Keddah Chief retained the usurped possession of any tract of land bordering on the south bank of Krean River, but if he did so, it must have been but for a very brief period, since such an occupancy is unknown to the people in that quarter.

In the latter part of 1825 when I took charge of Province Wellesley, the Rajah of Perak was in full possession of the south bank of the Krean river which was under his Panghula or officer, stationed on the Korow River, this last lying about 10 or 15 miles to the southward of Krean River.

5. The present Ex Rajah or Ex Governor of Keddah was expelled from that province of Siam by the then Rajah or Governor of Ligor in 1821. The south bank of the Krean was then under the Perak Rajah. In the Ex Rajah's letter to you, dated the 27th December,* he observes that after his expulsion from Keddah he had sent his son, he should have said his nephew, Zemalaledin to govern Krean. This was however in 1824, several years after he lost Keddah. This assertion of power exercised by him within what he calls part of the *Keddah* territory, after he had been driven from Keddah, would seem strange and incredible. Yet it is true in one sense, and false in another, and affords a strong argument that the Ligorian did not, from 1821, the period of his invasion of Keddah then in rebellion to Siamese supremacy, up to 1824, exercise any authority or control over the Krean river and district. If he had, then this freebooter, Zemalaledin, would never have been permitted to enter the river. The Ex Rajah's assertion is true in one sense and false in another, because the Krean river is or should be at

* *See ante.*

least agreeably to the Law of Nations a thoroughfare to the lawful possessors of both of its banks, because the Keddah territory lying east of the British territory, is bounded by the north bank of the Krean river, and as under such circumstances the Chief in question might have had authority on the Krean without at all interfering with the rights of Perak to the south bank, and the navigation of the river by its inhabitants.

6. "But the following are the facts of the case. In the latter part of 1825, when I took charge of Province Wellesley as before noticed, I found Zemaladien, otherwise called Tuanku Din and Koodin, a man partly of Arab descent and partly of Malayan, located on the north bank of the Krean river at Bukut Tungal, just within the British territory. There was not at the period a single Siamese post on either bank of the Krean river—both banks being in a very jungly state and thinly peopled. This Chief, taking advantage of the unsettled state of Province Wellesley about 1824, paid a pretended friendly visit to Tuanku Noo, a Malay man the owner of the village of Bukit Toongal and of some land adjoining, and after treacherously murdering him, took possession of his wife and family and property. The position was very favorable for this Chief's piratical propensities, as it enabled him unsuspectedly for a while, to abet the numerous and atrocious piracies committed on British subjects of Penang. With the sanction of the local Government I proceeded with a detachment of the Corps I then commanded and expelled this man and his armed followers from their dosition. His presence there as head of the pirates doubtless contributed to prevent the Perak Rajah's people from settling on the Krean south bank to the extent which they afterwards did, and even although that Chief had not established any post on that bank I may remark that this Tuanku Din headed the in-

vasion by the Malays of Keddah in 1829, where he was killed. In May 1826 the Ligorian was actively engaged in undermining the power of the Perak Rajah and had actually assumed the privilege of conferring offices in Perak. A Perak merchant who had escaped from Perak deposed at the Perak Police Office (18th May 1826) "that on his departure he had heard that "the Ligorian had delegated to one of his hirelings "Nakhodah Mahomed of Perak the Government of "the sea coast of Perak, from the Krean River to "Burnam River" which last divides Perak from Salengore, which serves at least to show that Krean was considered in Perak as the northern boundary of Perak.

7. I had the honor in 1826 of being deputed by the Honorable the Governor of the Straits, Mr. Fullerton, as his Political Agent to Perak in order to free that State from Siamese interference. The object was effected, thereby securing that which was contemplated in the 14th article of the Treaty of Bangkok, the independence of Perak. My instructions directed me to give the King of Perak clearly to understand that he may rely on the assistance of the British in expelling any Siamese who may proceed to Perak, and in resisting any interference with his Government. The Rajah of Ligor, when he corrupted a number of Perak Chiefs, had given them secret commissions under his seal. These were not returned to him when his force evacuated Perak and one of these was afterwards discovered by me at Korow river as will be presently noticed. The Perak Rajah's authority over his subjects had been so shaken that even after he had been emancipated from direct Siamese control, his frontier districts were in a distracted state. One of these was the river and district of Korow, the Panghula of which upheld, as well as he could, the authority of the Rajah up to and on the Krean river. This Perak Chief had been a year or

two before my mission to Perak driven up from the lower part of the Korow river by a piratical Chief named Tuanku Long Puteh, but he in turn was afterwards expelled by an equally noted pirate Nakhodah Oodin. Both these men were Malays. The Korow River lies about 12 or 15 miles south of the Krean and the pirates had formed a chain of strong posts from its mouth to a distance of 15 miles up it, overawing the people of the interior and depredating on and killing British petty traders and others at sea. No one ever suspected that the Rajah of Ligor, who in the 8th article of his treaty with Captain Burney, 31st July 1825, had engaged to adopt effectual measures for the suppression of piracy, was leagued with such men. Yet he actually and secretly was so beyond his jurisdiction under the mask, as Mr. Fullerton observed in his Minute, of constant and unceasing protestations of amity towards the British.

8. The Penang Government finding the evil of piracy to have reached an intolerable height were pleased to order me to proceed in command of a military and sea force to destroy the pirates and their establishments at Korow. After this had been effected I discovered amongst the papers of the Chief there, Nakhodah Oodin, which fell into my hands, a number of letters addressed to him by the Rajah of Ligor, and amongst these there was one directing him to continue in the Government of Korow. This order was dated a year or two back from that period and about the time when the Rajah of Ligor had begun to corrupt the Perak Chiefs with the view of usurping the Government of that country. So His Highness might have fairly if he had chosen denied any participation in the guilt of Nakhodah Oodin, subsequently to his own agreement with Captain Burney or to the Treaty of Bangkok. By so doing he might have evaded the charge of having infringed the 3rd and 8th articles of his treaty with Captain Burney, which pro-

vided for the independence of Perak and suppression of piracy although he could not have extricated himself from the odium and guilt of having abetted piracies on British subjects previous to the treaty. Nakhodah Oodin could not be tried at Penang for piracy as there was then no Admiralty jurisdiction. The Penang Government therefore sent him "to the Power to which he belonged"—the Rajah of Ligor, and he has not since returned.

9. The Rajah of Ligor was extremely mortified and disconcerted when the account reached him of Oodin having been detected, for he could not deny his own Seal, and as Captain Burney arrived shortly afterwards from Calcutta with the ratified copies of the treaty of Bangkok, the Rajah to save himself took the bold measure of claiming Korow as a part of Keddah. Captain Burney opposed to him the arguments before stated, without much effect at the time, but soon afterwards the Rajah received from the Honorable the Governor of the Straits the copy of a letter which he the Rajah had addressed in 1822 to the then Governor, the Honorable Mr. Phillips, in which His Highness had denounced Oodin as a notorious pirate and had requested that he should be seized. After this untoward exposure no more was or has since been heard of the Rajah's claim on Korow including Krean district. If he had still desired to enforce this unjust claim he had every opportunity so to do when the Honorable Mr. Ibbetson, the Governor of the Straits visited him in 1831 to adjust the British and Siamese boundary line and as I also accompanied Mr. Ibbetson he might have questioned me on the subject, but he never even hinted at it.

10. There was no attempt made by the Siamese Government in 1826, when the Treaty of Bangkok was concluded, to bring any part of the territory south of the Krean River within the limits of Kedah. The

Rajah of Perak was then the ruler of Perak, at least *de jure*, however his actual authority might have been placed in abeyance by Siamese interference, and Krean river was considered by the British Authorities in the Straits and by the Native population of Perak and Keddah generally as an undoubted portion of the Perak State. The Treaty of Bangkok therefore by its 14th article fully secured to the Perak Rajah the integrity of his territory as it stood at the date of that Treaty.

11. In 1831 I accompanied the Siamese officers (who were sent by the Rajah of Ligor) to fix a spot on the north bank of the Krean river on which was to be and subsequently was erected the boundary pillar betwixt Province Wellesley and the Siamese dependency of Keddah. Neither these officers nor others who guarded the post afterwards made the slightest claim to occupy territory on the opposite bank. They only asked to be allowed a free egress to the sea, which request would have been superfluous for to this privilege they would have had an indisputable right, had they possessed any such territory. The Rajah of Ligor even at the time when I accompanied the Honorable the Governor Mr. Ibbetson to visit him in his camp in Keddah after he had recovered it from the Malays gave me the control of his officers at this point on the Krean River, saying that he would dismiss them should I ever be obliged to report to him their incapacity or bad conduct. From that period up to the time of my leaving Province Wellesley in November 1840, or rather up to that when the Ex Rajah of Keddah made his encroachment on Krean, the Siamese have as quietly as might be occupied their post on the north bank of the Krean River and close to the brick boundary pillar alluded to, and without in any manner interfering with the Perak people settled on the south bank of the river from the sea to the mountains of the interior and this too with-

out any claim having ever been set up by the Siamese on this bank or having attempted to settle on it.

12. As the matter now rests it appears to me that the present Governor of part of Keddah, the Ex Rajah, would hardly have ventured on the dangerous political movement he has made without some countenance from the Siamese authorities, and consequently that the latter, having as is well known no regard for him, but the contrary, have either connived at his conduct in order to bring him into discredit with the British Government and to show how ungraciously he repaid the exertions which were made by it to restore him to some authority in Keddah, or else that the Court of Bangkok, or at least the Rajah of Ligor, still clings in secret to the ambitious views which that Court formerly entertained in the direction of Perak and Salangore.

I have &ca.
(Signed) James Low
Major.

Singapore
4th February 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 48.

Fort William the 23d March 1844.

No. 54.

To the Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
&ca. &ca.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 7th ultimo,* with enclosures, relative to the forcible aggression of the Governor of Queda upon a certain tract of country called Krean, claimed by the Rajah of Perak.

* *See ante in this Vol.*

2. In reply I am directed to inform you that under all the circumstances detailed in the correspondence and papers that accompanied your dispatch, the Governor General in Council authorizes your withholding the payment of the annual stipend to the Rajah of Quedah till that chieftain shall have withdrawn within the limits of the former boundary of his territory, and have abstained from aggression on Krean for the period of one year.

3. His Lordship in Council requests that you will intimate to the Rajah of Perak the course you have been directed by the Government of India to pursue on this occasion, and you will urge him not to adopt any measures for the forcible reoccupation of the tract in dispute that may disturb the peace and affect the interests of the common frontier.

4. The Governor General in Council is not disposed, merely on the assertion of the Chief of Queda as to the part taken by the King of Siam in this matter, to make a formal remonstrance to that Sovereign of* the subject as recommended in paragraph 5 of your letter.

* *(Sic.) ? on.*

5. His Lordship in Council would hope that the proceedings now authorized will effect an early

adjustment of the affair. Their result, as well as the reply that may be made by the Rajah of Ligor to your letter alluded to in your dispatch, you will report for the information of the Governor General in Council.

I have &ca.
(Signed) F. Currie
Secretary to the Government
of India.

Fort William
20th March 1844.

India Political Consultations. Range 196, Vol. 53.

Fort William 18th May 1844.

No. 213.

To the Right Honorable Edward, Lord Ellenborough
Governor General of India &ca., &ca.
The Memorial of Robert Hunter of Bangkok in the Kingdom of Siam, British Merchant and Agent.

Sheweth,

That your Memorialist in the mouth of August 1824 commenced business as a general merchant resident at Bangkok and established a house of business there which has since hitherto been and now is carried on under the firm of Messrs. Hunter and Hayes.

That at the time of his first establishment there, your Memorialist being the only British born merchant resident in Bankok, had to contend with all the difficulties attendant upon an experimental trade with a semi-barbarous people, of whom Europeans knew as little as they did of Europeans, and with whom at that time European Governments had no fixed commercial relations.

That in the year 1826 Captain H. Burney, being sent to Bankok in a diplomatic character by the Supreme Government of India, Your Memorialist had the satisfaction of rendering some service to the Mission, which resulted in the existing Political and Commercial Treaties with Siam of the twentieth of June 1826. He was also fortunate enough to be useful to the Indian Government on the two subsequent occasions of Dr. Richardson's overland journey from Moulmain to Bankok in 1839, and of the late determination of His Siamese Majesty to restore the expelled Rajah of Quedah to his territory, for which several services your Memorialist received the official

thanks of the successive Governors General at these periods.

That after the execution of the Treaties of June 1826, the trade of your Memorialist and of British subjects in general having been placed on a steady footing increased rapidly so that in 1842 the number of square rigged vessels that resorted to the river of Siam was no less than fifty-five (55) chiefly under British colours, nine being regular traders to the port of Bankok and with the exception of three or four direct from Great Britain, most of them coming from Bmobay, Singapore or China.

That on the 26th of February of this current year when your Memorialist left Bankok, there were five permanent commercial establishments there, carried on by British subjects, of which that of Hunter and Hayes, to which your Memorialist belongs, is the only one in which British born subjects are interested, the other houses consisting of one native merchant from the Madras Coast and three branch establishments of native houses at Bombay.

That this increase of trade was principally fostered by the non-interference of the Siamese authorities, who continued for some time content with the heavy measurement duty of 1700 ticals per Siamese fathom, chargeable by the terms of the treaty on vessels importing cargo and 1500 ticals per fathom on vessels entering without cargo (Article 1st of Commercial Treaty).

But avarice which is the characteristic of most semi-barbarous Governments, and of that of Siam amongst the rest, seems to have been awakened by the opportunities afforded by the great accession to trade and the arrival in 1842 of the Ship Good Success, Captain Evans, with dollars on board for the purchase of sugar, put the King of Siam upon the expedient

of monopolizing this article for his own profit in direct contravention of the terms of the Treaty (Art. 1). Accordingly he issued an order that sugar should be sold exclusively by one of his own officers and at his Royal Stores. At the time your Memorialist's firm of Hunter and Hayes had contracted with various dealers for about 2 or 3000 peculs at 7 to 7½ ticals, part of which was lying off their wharf and about to be weighed and landed into store. The effect of the order was that the whole of the sugar was carried off to the King's stores, and their firm informed that if it wanted sugar for the "Good Success" it must buy at the King's stores at 10 ticals per pecul. To prevent a total loss of the voyage it was necessary to submit, and as a great favour sugar was supplied them from the King's store at 9½ ticals per pecul.

The same monopoly of sugar was enforced in the following season, 1843, but the crop being large that year your Memorialist's firm was enabled to obtain a supply from His Majesty at the rate of 8¾ ticals per pecul, which it might have had direct from the dealers certainly as low as 7½ ticals.

That in the following season, 1844, his Siamese Majesty professed not to monopolize to himself the trade in sugar, but he did what was the same thing by granting the exclusive right of dealing in that article to the two head China traders, who paid him for the privilege 2 ticals per pecul and an extra ½ tical under the name of duty, and your Memorialist's firm, as well as other British traders were subjected to the alternative of sending their ships away empty, or paying 9 ticals per pecul for what would otherwise have been readily sold at 7-7½ ticals per pecul at the utmost. Taking the average annual export to be one hundred and ten thousand peculs of sugar of first quality, which is a fair estimate, the loss of the exporters on this article alone, arising from the monopoly would be 275,000 ticals or

Company's Rupees 343,750, most of which falls on the trade of British subjects.

That by the 1st article of the Commercial Treaty of June 1826 it is expressly provided that "with exception of warlike stores, paddy and rice, merchants subjects of the English and merchants at Bangkok may buy and sell without the intervention of any other person and with freedom and facility and that merchants coming to trade shall pay at once the whole of the duties and Charges consolidated according to the breadth of the vessel.

If the vessel bring an import cargo she shall be charged 1700 ticals for each Siamese fathom in breadth

If the vessel bring no import cargo she shall be charged 1500 ticals per each Siamese fathom in breadth.

No import export or other duty shall be levied upon the buyers* sellers from or to English subjects."

* Sic.

Thus the monopoly in question whether directly by the King and his officers or indirectly by exclusive grant to Chinese or others was a manifest infringement of the Treaty by which British subjects trading in Siam during the last three years have sustained unjust loss to the amount of more than ten laks of Rupees or 100,000 Pounds Sterling.

That if so flagrant a breach of treaty shall be passed over without notice the Siamese Monarch, whose passion is avarice that has increased with his advance of years, will grasp one after the other, like Mahmood Ally in Egypt, every exportable product of his country and thus extinguish a commerce which it cost the Indian Government great sacrifices to open, and which was under its protection rapidly growing into importance, to say nothing of the loss of national character which must inevitably result from submitting to such infractions. Some Native British

subjects have already been driven out of the trade by these exactions and other vexations too numerous to be detailed and others are already preparing to follow their example.

That your Memorialist himself having entered into a contract with the King of Siam to procure for him a sea-going steamer and other supplies, and having accordingly procured and brought out to Bangkok at great expense and risk the Steamer Express for that purpose, was in consequence of the King's breach of engagement and of the personal ill will thereupon conceived against him by His Siamese Majesty compelled precipitately to withdraw with the vessel from the river of Assam (?), leaving behind merchandize and outstandings to the value of three laks of rupees under the charge of an European assistant, from whose communications since received your Memorialist seriously apprehends that it will not only be impossible for him to withdraw his property from the country, notwithstanding the express provision of the Political Treaty in that behalf (Art. 7), but that his English assistant will be subjected to personal restraint or ill treatment unless the protection of the British authorities be afforded or at hand.

That the above infractions of Treaties that have been most rigidly observed on the part of Great Britain would, as your Memorialist believes, have been easily prevented either by the presence at Bangkok of a Consul or other British officers charged to watch over the performance of the Treaties or by the casual appearance of a British Frigate or ship of war on the Coast of Siam to shew that Great Britain was awake to the interests of her subjects and commerce in that quarter. Such is the timidity of the Siamese Monarch and so sensitive his alarm for the vast hoards that he has amassed by monopoly and other modes of extortion that the least appearance of a resolution

to enforce the terms of the treaties would be productive of immediate apology and submission.

That should it be thought expedient to resort to either of the modes of redress above alluded to your Memorialist would further suggest that it might be expedient on the first opportunity of explanation or discussion with the Siamese Government to propose a modification of the form or rate of consolidated charge stipulated by the Treaty; a general duty of 1,700 ticals per Siamese fathom on vessels importing cargo and of 1500 ticals per fathom on their coming in ballast is a clumsy and most unequal impost, prohibiting all together on bulky articles and upon vessels coming empty in quest of freight. A mode of assessment, bearing more fairly on the import and far more productive to the Siamese revenue if recommended to their adoption by the British authorities would be most readily acceded to by those of Siam, and such is the productive power of the country that it is difficult to assign a limit to the commerce that might be thus engendered or the benefit that might accrue to the neighbouring British Settlements, especially that of Singapore. While the successes of Great Britain in China are fresh in their memory it is not to be supposed that the nations in her vicinity will venture to disregard any claim for redress or any proposal for improving future intercourse that may come from the British Government or its representative in the Indian Seas.

To conclude, Your Memorialist was in February last compelled by acts of bad faith and caprice of the Siamese Government to abandon his commercial establishment and property at Bangkok with the English assistant in charge of it to the mercy of an ignorant and haughty despot whose jealousy of his British allies, awakened no doubt by the late operations in China, will as your

Memorialist has abundant reason to fear, urge him to measures of personal violence and spoliation. Your Memorialist has come direct to Calcutta in the Steamer Express to claim of the Supreme Government not only that protection to person and property to which British traders are entitled by the positive terms of the Treaties made with your Lordship's predecessor in June 1826 but also redress for a manifest breach of those Treaties which stipulated for a direct commerce between British subjects and the subjects of Siam without intervention of the State or its agents, in consideration of a consolidated measurement duty on their vessels entering the port of Siam. Your Memorialist feels assured by the energy of your Lordship's administration that his appeal will not be made in vain and that your Lordship will promptly find means to enforce the observance of the Treaties either by interference of the Supreme Government or by setting in motion the naval force of Great Britain stationed in the China Seas for the protection of British rights and interests.

And your Memorialist ever prays &ca. &ca.

(Signed) Robert Hunter.

Calcutta
The 24 April 1844.

India Political
Consultations.
Range 196,
Vol. 53.

No. 214.

Fort William 18th May 1844.

MEMORANDUM by

MR. UNDER SECRETARY EDWARDS.

MEMORANDUM.

Mr. Hunter, a British Merchant and Agent engaged in trade in Bankok in the Kingdom of Siam, has addressed the Government of India complaining of certain infractions of existing Treaties on the part of the King of Siam, by which he and other British traders resorting to the Port of Bankok, have been put to serious loss and inconvenience.

(Here follow a summary of Hunter's letter (No. 213) and extracts from existing Treaties).

* * * * * *

From the Treaties in force it does not by any means appear that any interference was intended with the King or that he should be prevented from monopolizing any product of his dominions or granting such monopoly to any persons should he be so disposed. If the King determines to monopolise sugar then such monopoly becomes one of the laws and established rules of the Kingdom of Siam to which our traders, by the articles quoted, are imperatively bound to conform.

The ½ tical levied from the sugar dealers for their monopoly by the King which goes under the name of duty as stated by Mr. Hunter can be considered no infraction of the Treaty, for it is not levied from them because they sell to the English but it is the sum paid by them for their monopoly to whomsoever they may choose to sell it.

The spirit of the several Treaties seems to be that

the laws and customs of Siam should be rigidly conformed to. No specification of these laws or customs is made, and if the monopoly of sugar be legalized by the King then our traders would seem bound to conform to it, and it would not appear that we would be justified in forcing the King to sell that product without any restriction.

Mr. Hunter's second complaint is that he has been forced by the King to leave Siam abandoning behind him there property to the amount of 3 lacs of rupees.

This property has been left under the charge of an European assistant. He fears that the property will be plundered by the King and his assistant placed under restraint.

If what Mr. Hunter anticipates actually takes place then it would seem that there would arise an infringement of the 7th Article of the Treaty which specifies that* any English merchant or subject who has nothing to detain him requests permission to leave the country and to embark with his property on board of any vessel he shall be allowed to do so with facility.

* ? *insert "if"*

But it must be remembered that Mr. Hunter's differences with the King of Siam appears to have originated not so much on account of the sugar monopoly, which had been going on for two years previously without complaint on the part of Mr. Hunter, but on account of the Steamer Express. This vessel Mr. Hunter states His Majesty commissioned him to procure for him from England. Until we are made aware of the whole circumstances of that transaction, whether the King furnished the funds for the purchase of the vessel, it is not possible to say whether the King may not have some just claim against Mr. Hunter. If His Majesty did furnish the purchase money, as the vessel has not been transferred to him he may have

some just claim against Mr. Hunter's property and so object to its removal from Bangkok.

(Signed) W. Edwards

Under Secretary to Govt. of India.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, Vol. 53.

No. 215

Fort William 18th May 1844.

To the Governor of Eastern Settlements..

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a Memorial from Mr. Robert Hunter of Bankok, dated the 24th ultimo, and to request that you will ascertain as you may have opportunity what real cause of complaint Mr. Hunter has and report the result of your enquiry for the information of His Lordship in Council.

I have &ca.

(Signed) F. Currie

Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Fort William, Foreign Department,
The 18th May 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 10.

Fort William the 28th March 1845.

No. 212.

To F. Currie Esquire
Secretary to the Government of India
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Under Secretary Edward's Letter No. 1016 of 18th May last,* inclosing Copy of a Memorial from Mr. Robert Hunter of Bankok, and requiring me to ascertain as far as practicable and report what real cause of grievances Mr. Hunter has.

* *See letter from F. Currie (not Edwards) above series, Range 196, Vol. 53.*

2nd. Mr. Hunter's main complaints are two :—

1st Regarding the Royal monopoly of sugar;

2nd Regarding the sale of a steam vessel, but the first above alone is very distinctly stated.

3rd. Of the monopoly of sugar there is I believe no doubt. The question is whether it is a grievance Mr. Hunter has a right to seek redress for through his Government.

4th. I am of opinion it is not. Monopolies are a main source of revenue in these countries, though rulers seeking popularity occasionally give them up for a time as was the case at his accession with the King of Siam who concluded the treaty of 1826. But these abjurations of trade and of monopolies are always short lived from necessities of their political system which need not now be mentioned. Mr. Hunter seems, however, to think that in the treaty of 1826 monopolies were abandoned and their re-establishment as respects British subjects provided against. He quotes from the first article that English merchants in Siam may, with exceptions of certain articles, buy, and sell without the intervention of any other

person, but Mr. Hunter does not quote the beginning of the articles and the 6th article requiring obedience to the established laws of the country. Now, it will be scarcely contended that the laws, including those relative to trade and monopolies are never to be changed, or if changed that British subjects are exempted from obedience. But again the Commercial Treaty is mere appendix to the Political Treaty containing rules for the trade at Bankok and the foundation of it will be found in Articles 6 to 9 inclusive of the Political Treaty. In article 6 it is expressly stipulated that the subjects of either nation shall trade in the territories of the other with out the intervention of other parties in such countries. Now it will scarcely be contended that as regards Siamese subjects the Salt and Opium Monopolies are abrogated, and that the British Indian Legislature as relates to Siamese subjects trading to India be debarred from creating any other monopolies it may think fit, but if we have not so tied up our hand neither have we theirs.

5. If it be said that in this case the Commercial Treaty is useless, I admit it, and I consider all such treaties I know of with the natives between India and China as worse than useless, and without protecting trade tend to bring in interference, collision and war.

6th. As respects the steamer it is to be remembered the King and all his Ministers and nobles are traders, so is Mr. Hunter, who had for years great influence with the Court. This he has now lost and instead of being in some sort partners, he, and the Ministers or King have become rivals in trade. It is impossible to decide between them unless by judicial investigation on the spot which is impossible.

7th. Mr. Hunter next states his fears that his assistant will not be allowed to quit the country with his property. This case not having occurred need not be entered on further than to point out the difficulties

of enforcing the latter part of article 7 of the Treaty of Friendship. It would be necessary to prove there was nothing to detain the party desiring to leave the country, and if any charges of crime, or doubt of right to property were raised the tribunals of the country, according to Article 6th of the Treaty of Friendship and Article 6th of Agreement regarding trade at Bangkok (generally called the Commercial Treaty) would have to decide the case, in other words to detain or set free as they chose.

I have &ca.

(Signed) G. Broadfoot

Commissioner in the Tenasserim Province

Moulmein
Commissioner's Office.
The 2nd July 1844.

India and Bengal Letters Received, Vol. 43.

Fort William
Foreign Department
The 22d July 1844.

To the Honble. the Court of Directors
of the East India Company.

Honble. Sirs,

* * * * * *

Cons: 27 Jan. 1844 Nos. 279 to 292. *(See India Pol. & Foreign Cons., Range 193, Vol. 45)*

Para. 122. This correspondence relates to the obstructions which are alleged to exist in the commercial intercourse of British subjects with Siam.

122 A. On this subject we remarked that there did not appear to be a violation of any article of the existing treaty on the part of the King of Siam, nor did we consider the interference of the British Government to be immediately required.

123. The Rajah of Kedah since his restoration to power, had taken forcible possession of a certain tract of country called Krean claimed by the Rajah of Perak.

124. Under all the circumstances of this case we authorized the Government of Penang to withhold the payment of the annual stipend to the Rajah of Queda till that chieftain should have withdrawn within the limits of the former boundary of his territory and have abstained from aggression on Krean for the period of one year. It was meanwhile directed that the course which our Government had determined to pursue on this occasion should be made known to the Rajah of Perak, and that he should be urged not to adopt any measures for the re-occupation of the tract in dispute, such as might disturb the peace and affect the interests of the common frontier.

* * * * * *

We have the honor &c.

(Signed) N. N. Bird

&c., &c.

Fort William
The 22d July 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 4.

Fort William the 18th January 1845.

No. 43.

To F. Currie Esquire
Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

With reference to your letter under date the 20th March,* No. 383, conveying the authority of the Governor General for withholding the payment of the annual stipend to the Governor of Quedah till that Chieftain shall have withdrawn within the limits of his former boundary and abstained from aggression on Krean for one year, and directing me to communicate the result, as well as the reply made by the Rajah of Ligore to my letter requesting his interference.

(* *See this series, Range 193, Vol. 48.*)

I have now the honor to transmit the accompanying copy of a correspondence which I held with the Governor of Quedah whilst at Penang by which it will be observed that the old man obstinately adheres to the determination of holding possession of the Krean Country. I am however happy to add that the Rajah of Perak remains perfectly quiescent on the understanding that passive measures are in progress to cause his restoration to that portion of his territories usurped by the Governor of Quedah.

I have not received any reply to my letter to the Rajah of Ligore which appears by the annexed copy* of a communication from the Resident Councillor at Penang to have reached its destination. I shall however assume that the letter has miscarried and transmit a duplicate viâ Bangkok.

* *Omitted.*

I hope and believe that when the Governor of Quedah shall feel the want of the annual stipend, and the crops from the Krean country shall have been gathered in, that he will be more disposed to meet the

wishes of the Governor General of India.

I shall be careful to communicate any hostile movements which may be made by either of the above Chieftains of which at present I do not entertain any apprehensions.

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. Butterworth
Governor.

Singapore,
11th November 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 4.

Fort William the 18th January 1845.

No. 44.

From the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Honble. the Military Order of the Bath, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

To the Rajah of Quedah.

In my letter to my friend under date the 9th December last,* I pointed out the injustice of his usurpation of the Krean Country which has remained unquestioned in the hands of the Perak Rajah during the whole period that Tuwankee Annum continued as the representative of the Siamese authority in Quedah.

(* *See this series Range 196, Vol. 48.)*

I also intimated the course I felt it incumbent upon me to pursue in the event of my friend persisting unlawfully to hold the Krean Country in opposition to my expressed wish that he should withdraw to the north bank of the Krean river.

On receipt of my friend's letter bearing date the 19th January* I was compelled to lay the whole subject before the Supreme Government of India, by whom I am now commanded to acquaint my friend that the annual stipend hitherto paid him will be withheld till he shall have withdrawn from the Krean Country for one whole year.

(* *Not copied. See 27 Dec. 1843. Ind. Pol. Cons. Range 196, Vol. 48.)*

I would now once again urge on my friend the necessity for his immediately restoring the Krean Country to the Rajah of Perak, as I have issued the instructions of the Supreme Government that the annual stipend hitherto paid my friend shall be withheld till he has returned to and remained peaceably for one whole year within the boundaries of the Quedah District as they were acknowledged when my friend resumed the Government of his Country.

Dated Prince of Wales Island 13th May 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 4.

Fort William the 18th January 1845.

Translation of a letter from Sultan Ahmad Tajoodeen Hallim Shah, Rajah of Kedah, to Colonel the Honble. W. Butterworth, C, B., Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

The letter which my friend forwarded to me by my man Ismail reached me on the 16th Jumadilawal (2nd June 1844). Its contents I fully understand.

It is therein stated that on account of Krean affairs my money on the Pulo Penang account is about to be stopped. In my opinion this is highly improper because the whole of Krean is actually under my dominion as specified in my letter to my friend. It is therefore contrary to my reason that I should give up Krean to the Perak people.

With regard to my money on the Penang account according to the Treaty made between the English Company and my late father, when I sent my son Abdullah to Bengal, whilst I was at Malacca, I then received a letter from Lord Bentinck confirming the aforesaid Treaty which was entered into between the English Compay and my late father, and which is to continue unto my succeeding generations, and so long as the British flag exists in the Island of Penang the Treaty shall never end. The letter from Lord Bentinck I have shewn to Mr. Bonham, Mr. Garling and Mr. Lewis, who are all aware of the same. I therefore place great confidence upon the said letter, because from time immemorial whatever engagement that may have been made by the English Company it is known to remain firm and unchanged.

Upon the well known justness of the Governor of

Bengal who rules under the great King of England my increasing confidence is placed and I consequently rely upon my friend's assistance.

Dated 17th Jummadilawal 1260 or 3rd June 1844.

(A True translation. Signed Abdullah.)

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 5.

Fort William the 1st February 1845.

No. 49.

To F. Currie Esquire

Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir,

In continuation of my letters under date the 7th February* and 11th* ultimo, relative to the usurpation of the Krean country by the Governor of Quedah, and in obedience to the orders of the Governor General of India as conveyed in the 5th paragraph of your letter dated 20th March*, I have now the honor to transmit the reply of the Rajah of Ligore to my reference on the above subject, which has just reached me.

* *See Range 196, Vol. 48 of this series.*
* *See Range 197, Vol. 4 Do.*
* *See Range 186, Vol. 48 Do.*

It will be observed that the Rajah of Ligor distinctly states the boundary of the Quedah country extends only to the Krean river, and the Governor of Quedah has no authority beyond the south bank of that river; moreover, that Tunkoo Annoom, who was the representative of the Siamese Government in Quedah prior to the restoration of the present Governor, had never interfered with the Krean country.

I have addressed a further communication to the Rajah of Ligore calling upon him to issue an order to the Governor of Quedah to withdraw from the Krean country. At the same time I have sent a transcript of the Rajah of Ligore's letter to the Resident Councillor at Penang with with a request that he will intimate its contents to the Governor of Quedah and urge him to restore the usurped territory to the Rajah of Perak.

I trust these measures will be approved of by the Right Honble. the Governor General, although I have

little hope of their being attended with immediate success, or that the Governor of Quedah will listen to reason till he shall feel the want of his annual stipend, which will, I trust, ultimately force him to retire within the limits of his own territory.

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth
Governor.

Singapore
21st December 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 5.

Fort William, the 1st February, 1845.

No. 50.

Translation.

(After Compliments.)

This comes from me Pya Nackhon Sithammarat hoping it will safely reach my friend the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, and have to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the Governor of Penang which has come into my hands, wherein it is stated that the Rajah of Perak had written a letter to the Governor of Penang complaining that the Rajah of Quedah has intruded upon his territory to the South, which is very improper, as his boundary extends only up to the Krian River and he has no right to go beyond that. At the time Tunkoo Annoom had charge of Quedah there has been no complaints whatever, but he was well spoken of by all around him, and he has never interfered with the country of Krian. I am now greatly astonished at the misconduct of the Rajah who governs Quedah that he should meddle with the territory of Perak which is so near to that, for by so doing it will evidently create a war between them, and therefore I trust that the Governor of Penang will interfere and recommend the Rajah of Perak not to cause any disturbance, and afterwards that the Governor of Penang will be pleased to let me know by letter, when, I will also give the Rajah of Perak and the Rajah of Quedah my advice, so as to make the population retreat back from the south of Krian River, which was formerly the boundary of the Rajah of Perak given by the Governor of Penang and therefore the Rajahs of Quedah and Siam cannot on any account meddle or interfere in it. And further the Governor of Penang will be pleased to advise the Rajah of Quedah that when the Perak people go

to Quedah to recommend them to return back quietly and to avoid all disturbances, that they may on both sides live peaceably. That upon Tunkoo Dai, the son of the Rajah of Quedah, having made sufficient atonement to me the Rajah of Nakhon for their misconduct, they were reinstated at Quedah and desired to govern that country as formerly and Tunkoo Abdullah is to convey the tribute money to me Rajah Nakhon, and further that when Tunkoo Abdullah brought the tribute money and was returning the winds were contrary from the north, which induced him to stop at Nakhon, and there I questioned him about the contents of the letter from the Governor of Penang. He replied that Penang, Perak and Soongi Krian formerly belonged to the Rajah of Quedah's father and should descend to his children, but as the English had rented Penang the same was given up by the Rajah of Quedah's father, but when the Rajah of Quedah settled himself at Penang, Jenolahdeen was desired by the Company to look after Soongi Krian, and the Rajah of Quedah to remove to Malacca. Mr. Ibbetson was at this time the Governor of Penang, and Captain Low, regardless of the order respecting Soongi Krian, gave it up to the Perak people, which the old inhabitants there can testify, and likewise be proved by the books and chops in possession of Tunkoo Abdullah. That as to the books I Rajah Nakhon know nothing of but that they merely signify the agreement between the English and the Rajah of Quedah regarding the lands which entirely belonged to Siam and that Tunkoo Annoom, as the Rajah of Quedah, must know all about the boundaries of Krian. That from 1826 to this moment no tribute money was sent by the Rajah of Perak. That at this time Captain Burney came upon a mission to enter into a friendly treaty with Siam wishing that Perak be placed under the English at Penang, and Quedah under the Rajah of Siam, and owing to the mutual friendship between us, I request of my friend to protect the lives and property of the population both at Quedah and Perak by

preventing any tumult breaking out between them and therefore send two letters to the same purport, one in Malay and the other in Siamese.

Friday the 8th month and on the 11th day, in the year Ulur Basar (22d September 1844).

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 5.

Fort William the 1st February 1845.

From,

The Honble Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Honble. the Military Order of the Bath, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

To the Rajah of Ligore.

I have received my friend's letter of the 22d September 1844,* and am happy to find that he entirely concurs with me in the matter between the Rajah of Perak and Governor of Quedah, in which the latter has behaved most unjustly. I have now only to request that my friend will order the Governor of Quedah to withdraw within the boundaries which have always been recognized by the British Government and acknowledged on all occasions as the limits of Quedah by Tunkoo Annoom, who governed that country with credit to himself and advantage to the people.

* *See ante.*

My friend's instructions to the Governor of Quedah to vacate the Krean country and retire from the south bank of that river will doubtless be attended to, and I shall therefore only send notice to him of the communication now under acknowledgment, intimating that he will shortly have an order from my friend to return to the north bank of the Krean river, which order I beg that my friend will despatch to the Governor of Quedah with that promptitude for which my friend has obtained such high reputation. In the mean time I shall induce the Rajah of Perak not to make any hostile movements to recover the Krean country.

Dated Singapore this 20th day of December 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 197. Vol. 8.

Fort William the 7th March 1845.

No. 122.

To F. Currie, Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor of Bengal the annexed copy of a letter from the Resident Councillor at Penang,* with its enclosures from Tuanku Dye, announcing the death of his father, Yang-de-per-Tuan, Sultan Ahmad, Tajudin Halim Shaw, the late Rajah of Quedah and soliciting the loan of 6,000 dollars to defray his expenses consequent on that event together with my reply thereto.

* *Not copied.*

* * * * * *

Tuanku Dye is the only surviving son of the late Rajah of Quedah and will I trust be nominated his successor, but he has lost the fingers of one hand and objections on that score may be raised to him. Moreover Tuanku Mahomed Saad, who was recently sent back from Bengal, is the son of an elder brother, and will not, I am disposed to believe, quietly surrender his hopes of obtaining the Government of the country.

The Siamese Government whose authority over Quedah we have recognized will I think be favourably disposed towards Tuanku Dye, and they certainly would never permit Tuanku Mahomed Saad, who attacked and committed such slaughter on the Siamese in Quedah during the year 1838, to assume the government of that country. The measures adopted by the Straits authorities on the occasion above referred to led to the capture of Tuanku Mahomed Saad, when he was tried for piracy and acquitted on the plea that as

a descendant of the Ex Governor of Quedah, he was at war with Siam, and in consequence with the British Government, the ally of that power, and therefore that the act with which he was charged was that of an enemy, not a pirate. As an enemy he was then shipped for Bengal, from whence he has but recently returned to Penang. I shall be careful to abstain from any interference and from taking any further steps touching the Karian country beyond what is mentioned in my letter to the Resident Councillor at Penang, till a successor to the late Governor of Quedah shall be nominated.

It will be observed that Mr. Garling adverts, in the concluding paragraph of his communication,* to the Kotah District. This is a triangular piece of ground having Kotah at its apex in the very heart of province Wellesley. This Kotah is the resort of all the evil disposed people, whether belonging to the province or to Quedah. By taking a straight line from north to south we should obtain Kotah and the command of the Prye River which would then be within our boundary, but which is now navigated by the Quedah and Kotah people, without their being liable to search, although the Kotah boats may be laden with opium, to the detriment of our revenue and to the peace of the District.

* *Not copied.*

I am not aware that any opportunity is likely to offer at the present more than at any other time of securing the Kotah District, as I conclude our negotiation for it must be carried on with the Siamese, but possession would be most desirable for the reasons above stated, as well as that the soil is particularly adapted for a sugar plantation, having a navigable river frontage, and I beg therefore very respectfully to know if the Right Honourable the Governor General would be disposed to authorize any steps to be taken by me with a view to obtaining the transfer of the Kotah District to the Honorable East India Company.

I do not suppose that the Governor of Quedah on the part of the Siamese would be disposed to relinquish this strip of land, although it be of no use to him, without some equivalent and there is nothing that we could offer that I am aware of but the sugar boon reported on in my letter under date 27th* instant, except money, for which I have no doubt it could be readily obtained at between 5,000 and 10,000 dollars, but I have made no movement in the matter, and shall make none till I receive instructions to that effect from the Right Honorable the Governor General.

* *Not copied.*

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth
Governor.

Singapore
The 31st January 1845.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 8.

Fort William the 7th March 1845.

No. 123.

Translation of a Malay Letter bearing the Red Seal of Tuanku Dye, the second son of the late Ex King of Quedah, to the address of the Honourable Samuel Garling Esquire, Resident Councillor of Pulo Penang, dated the 27th day of Dool Hadjee, corresponding with the 5th day of January 1845.

After Compliments.

This letter is written to acquaint my friend that in the Hadjerat 1260 years now on the 11th day of the month Shawal, Saturday (9th day of November 1844) my son named Mahomed died, then on the 25th day Dalkhedah (5th December 1844) my brother Tuanku Abdullah died, then on the 20th day Dalhadjee (30th December 1844) my elder sister died, afterwards on the 25th day Dalhadjee (3d January 1845) Friday night my Royal Father Yang de-per-tuan Sultan Ahmad Tajudin Hallim Shaw expired. He died of fever and bowel complaint under which he laboured for only seven days. Such at present are my distresses, which I make known to my friend, and under these distressing circumstances want of means* (for according to the Malayan custom, the expense attending the burial ceremonies is very great) I entirely depend upon my friend as the only source from whom I can look for assistance that my friend will compassionate my present afflictions by soliciting the loan of five or six thousand dollars, to enable me to defray the requisite expenses. If not to such an extent, I must still place entire confidence for such aid as my friend may feel disposed to grant and which I shall consider as a token of lasting friendship which shall never be forgotten. I therefore fully anticipate that my friend will accede to this request as early as practicable. I send my younger brother Tuanku Ibrahim the bearer of this letter to my friend.

* *Sic.*

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 8.

Fort William the 7th March 1845.

Toowanku Dayi.

(With usual Compliments.)

I have received my friend's letter dated the 27th day of Dool Hadji announcing the death of the late Iang-de-per-tuan Sultan Ahmad Tajudin Hallim Shaw, and certain others of my friend's relatives, and requesting the loan of several thousand dollars to enable my friend to meet the usual expenses.

I would convey to my friend the expression of my condolement on an occasion so distressing.

In respect of the loan of money, my friend must be aware that I am but Treasurer of the State Funds and have not power to disburse a single dollar without the express sanction of my superiors, much less therefore could I presume to disburse the large amount quoted. My friend must therefore excuse my inability to meet his wishes in the present distress. I shall lose no time in sending a translation of my friend's letter to the Governor.

I take this occasion of begging of my friend to advise me when it shall be finally determined who shall succeed to the Government of Kedah in the room of the deceased Sultan, as I have it in command from His Honor to communicate with the ruling power of Kedah on the subject of the Krian territory and the common boundaries between the countries of Kedah and Perak.

(Signed) S. Garling
Resident Councillor.

Prince of Wales Island,
The 9th January 1845

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 10.

Fort William the 28th March 1845.

No. 214.

From the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

To W. Edwards Esquire,
Under Secretary to the Government of India
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 11th ultimo,* No. 79, calling my attention to your* communication of the 18th May last transmitting a memorial from Mr. Robert Hunter of Bangkok.

(* *Omitted.*)

* *The communication was from Currie not Edwards. See ante, Range 196, Vol. 53.*

2nd. Your letter with the memorial in question reached me at Pinang, where I was waited upon by Mr. Hunter in person on his return from Calcutta and at this interview, after freely discussing the matter with me, he decided upon returning to Siam, and promised to send early intelligence of his proceedings from thence or on his return to Singapore.

3rd. On completing my tour of the Northern Settlements I found that Mr. Hunter had been to Siam, returned to Singapore, and had again sailed to Siam, in a larger vessel, to bring away his merchandize. All this bore a favorable aspect and I therefore postponed making any observation on his second venture to Siam.

4th. Mr. Hunter returned only a few weeks since, and was too ill to lay before me either personally or in writing an account of his adventures, and when he did visit me he was in so nervous a state from the trials and vexations he had undergone that I did not feel justified in pressing for any tangible information, and it was not till the 7th instant that I obtained the

accompanying letter from that gentleman. I trust this explanation will satisfactorily account to the Right Honorable the Governor General of India for the delay which has occurred in furnishing the account called for.

5th. Mr. Hunter belongs to the oldest established firm in Siam and himself resided there for the greater part of the last 20 years, during the whole of that time till 1842 in the full enjoyment of the King's countenance and favor, and at the same time retaining the confidence of His Majesty's Ministers so much as to have proved of infinite service in our negotiation with that monarch as will be seen by the accompanying testimonial borne by Captain Burney and the ready response of the Supreme Government in 1826 (A)* and to Dr. Richardson on his overland journey to Bangkok, in like manner acknowledged by the Supreme Government in 1840 (B)*; also touching the negotiations for the restoration of the Ex Rajah of Quedah in 1842, when a donation of 5,000 Rupees was accorded to Mr. Hunter for his aid on this occasion (C)‡.

It may, I think, be fairly assumed that the British trade with Siam has been mainly fostered and has attained to its present height owing to the temper, tact and judgment displayed by Messrs. Hunter and Co. in their earlier dealings with the natives of that country, and it is much to be regretted that the amicable footing on which the trade continued to be carried on till 1846 should have been broken through by the King, who in that year commenced a direct interference with the traffic of the place, and behaved in a most uncourteous, if not unjustifiable a manner to the firm of Hunter and Hayes, as pointed out in the communication of Mr. Hayes* which accompanied my letter under date the 8th November 1843.

7th. The monopoly of sugar and the manner in which it is carried on are fully reported on in my letter

** A. See Burney's Rept. 2 Dec. 1826 on his Mission to Siam. Ben. Sec. & Pol. Cons. Vol. 342. and Swinton to Burney 23 Feb. 1827. Fac. Rec. Str. Setts. Vol. 141.*

† B. Omitted.

‡ C. See Ext. fm. Bushby to Bonham. 22 June 1842. India Pol. Cons. Range 196. Vol. 14.

Mr. Hunter was then in England.

** Dated 1 Nov. 1843. See this series, Range 196. Vol. 45.*

under date the 27th ultimo, and may I think be considered in contravention of the 1st article of the Commercial Treaty of June 1826, which says that no import, export or other duty shall be levied from the buyers or sellers from or to English subjects, and this contravention of the Treaty necessarily tends to the great disadvantage of the trade, but with all this it will be seen by the abstract statement noted in the margin,* of the commerce carried on with this port and Siam during the past five years, that although the imports to Singapore have diminished, the exports from thence to Siam have increased since 1841.

* *See below.*

8th. In the 9th para. of my letter under date the 8th November, I have alluded to the expectation entertained at Bangkok that after affairs had been settled with China, the British ships would pay the Siamese a visit, and every preparation was made to effect a show of resistance. The fortifications at the entrance of the main river were repaired, chain cables stretched across that river and a large supply of guns ordered from England through Messrs. Hunter and Hayes, as also the steamer Express.

9. The peaceable return of the British troops to India on the conclusion of the peace with China entirely changed the King's views and the whole of his attention was then and is still devoted to the accumulation of wealth. He therefore gladly availed himself of any excuse for the nonfulfilment of his engagement with Mr. Hunter for the supply of the ordnance and the steamer "Express" which had been

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* Abstract Statement of the Annual Import from and Export to Siam for the past 5 years.

	1839/40	1840/41	1841/42	1842/43	1843/44
Import Sp. Drs. ...	259,273	326,341	409,463	260,115	229,714
Export „ „ ...	483,578	211,597	229,891	357,492	305,594

commissioned from that firm. The immediate outbreak against Mr. Hunter and the subsequent animosity which has been shown to that gentleman originated in his saying that if the King would not give the price agreed on for the steamer she should be sold to the Cochin Chinese, with whom the Siamese are on hostile terms. The command for the withdrawal of Mr. Hunter with his steamer followed his impolitic speech and the steamer Express was to be sold to the Cochin Chinese at Singapore for 53,000 dollars prior to his taking (but on condition that he should be allowed to take) that vessel to Calcutta.

10th. This brings me to the period when I first met Mr. Hunter on his way to Calcutta, at which time he detailed what is mentioned in his memorial and a very few days subsequent to our conversation he addressed a letter to me marked D,* intimating that the life of his assistant was in danger from the vindictive feelings of the King of Siam towards the firm of Hunter and Co. I had every reason to believe that the object of this communication was to induce me to send one of Her Majesty's vessels to Siam with the view of frightening the King, but having satisfied myself that neither Mr. Harvey's life nor the property of Hunter and Co. were in jeopardy I declined making any movement, as will be seen by my reply to Mr. Hunter (E)* feeling that I could not do so without compromising the Government, and I am happy to find that my information was correct, for Mr. Harvey is still at Bangkok and I think it not improbable that Mr. Hayes (Mr. Hunter's partner) will join him there on his return from England. After fully considering this part of the memorial I do not conceive that there has been any direct infringement of the 7th Article of the Political Treaty.

* *See 19 Mar. 1844. this Vol.*

* *19 Mar. 1844. See infra.*

11th. Should the 34 shilling rate of duty on sugar be extended to Siam a Consul must, I conclude,

be stationed at Bangkok, and the periodical visits of a man-of-war will necessarily follow, but I would respectfully suggest for the consideration of the Right Honorable the Governor General, the expediency of seeking a revision of our Commercial Treaty with that country, when our trade, if not greatly increased, would certainly be conducted on a more equitable footing. To show this I may mention that at present a vessel importing cargo of a trifling value pays precisely the same as if she conveyed the most valuable to the market, and the charges are so exorbitantly high as to deter vessels from touching there unless for a full cargo of sugar viz. 1,500 ticals without and 1,700 ticals per Siam fathom in breadth with an import cargo.

12th. I come now to Mr. Hunter's proceedings subsequent to his return from Calcutta, the details of which are set forth in the accompanying copy of a letter from that gentleman (E) as previously noticed. It will be gathered from this communication, although such is not expressly stated, that Mr. Hunter has collected many of his outstanding debts and recovered much of his property. The whole of the mortars and guns adverted to in paragraph VIII of this report, with a quantity of iron and sundry piece goods &ca. in all amounting to about 2 lacs of rupees, are accounted for by Mr. Hunter, making his losses as estimated by himself under one lac of rupees in place of three lacs, as was shown at the period the memorial was addressed to the Supreme Government.

13th. It does not appear that the King of Siam has openly thrown any obstacles in the way of Mr. Hunter to retard the recovery of his debts, but under a despotic Government like that of Siam, the open withdrawal of the King's countenance from a former favorite would doubtless indirectly tend to this end.

I am, however, of opinion that all the ungracious conduct displayed towards Mr. Hunter has proceeded from personal enmity against him consequent on his threat, and the subsequent fulfilment thereof to sell the steamer Express to the Cochin Chinese and the use of other strong language, rather than from any systematic avoidance of the 6th Article of the Treaty. Mr. Harvey would not have been permitted to remain at Bangkok and to return there in the Port Captain's boat when it was intimated to Mr. Hunter that he could not be allowed to re-enter the river, without the King's permission.

14. The sufferings endured by Mr. Hunter on reaching the Gunga when refused permission to enter the river could not have been anticipated by the King of Siam, who had previously ordered him to quit the country. On the occasion in question the authorities simply insisted upon this order being carried into effect, after affording that gentleman the opportunity of taking away his merchandise, and when it is remembered that Mr. Hunter was looked upon and treated with the greatest kindness for a long period of years by the King and the Courtiers, the exasperated feeling of a despotic monarch, consequent on his being told that negotiations would be entered into with his enemies, are not to be wondered at. On the other hand, had the Chinese war continued I am satisfied that the steamer and military stores would have been purchased without a murmur, but arriving as they did, when their necessity appeared no longer urgent, the King wished to obtain them below their estimated value or considerably under the sum agreed for, and it was whilst smarting under this ungenerous proceeding that Mr. Hunter expressed himself in the unguarded manner previously adverted to.

15th. The treaty with Siam was concluded at a period when a continued wasting and unsatisfactory war with Burmah made it desirable to conciliate the

adjacent states on any terms, and with all due deference and respect I would again observe that much in that treaty might be revised and the whole placed on a footing equally perhaps more advantageous to the King of Siam, certainly more satisfactory to the trade and more creditable to the British Government. Should it be determined to depute any person to Siam on this account a hint would be quite sufficient to ensure Mr. Hunter's assistant (Mr. Harvey) or one of his partners every assistance in collecting the outstanding debts and disposing of the remaining property of the firm of Hunter, Hayes and Co. in Siam, but I do not think that it could be expected or that it should be required of the King of Siam, to recognise or countenance Mr. Hunter in any way.

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth
Governor.

Singapore
The 13th February 1845.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 10.

Fort William the 28th March 1845.

No. 215 contd.

(Enclosure D.)

To the Honorable Colonel W. J. Butterworth, C. B.,
Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

When I had the honor of waiting on you on my arrival here from Siam a few days ago, I communicated to you in detail the circumstances under which I was compelled to quit that country by order of the Siamese Government, leaving behind me a very large amount of property, and I expressed to you at the time my apprehension that the Government might proceed to further acts of violence to the jeopardy, not only of the property in question, but possibly the life of Mr. Harvey, the European gentleman of my establishment whom I left in charge. I regret to state that the accounts I have since then received from Siam by the Good Success, which left seven days after the vessel in which I sailed, tend rather to heighten than diminish these apprehensions. Mr. Harvey writes to me in a strain of the greatest personal alarm, which I find is not attributable to the feelings incidental to his lonely and unprotected situation, from the facts and circumstances which have been brought to my knowledge by Captain Evans, of the "Good Success," who described all these bad feelings towards me as unhappily acquiring new force, and likely to take a direction that will be dangerous if not fatal to those with whom I was closely connected during my residence at Bangkok.

Under these circumstances I hope I shall not be regarded as unreasonable, in pressing upon your further consideration the state of my affairs at Bangkok through acts of illegal violence on the part of

the Siamese Government, with a possibility of their proceeding to further outrage, both against my property and those in whose custody it has heen left, and to request that you will adopt such steps as may be in your power to provide security for the lives and property that may thus be endangered.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Hunter

Singapore,
The 19th March 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 10.

No. 215 contd.

Fort William The 28th March 1845.

(Enclosure E.)

To Robert Hunter Esquire.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, relative to the state of your affairs in Bangkok and the precarious situation of the person in charge of them.

From what passed at the interview to which allusion is made in the communication under acknowledgement I gathered that the immediate misunderstanding between you and the Rajah of Siam occurred with reference to the state of a steamboat which the Siamese had offered to purchase, and which you had actually brought from England for them, at their especial request. That the Siamese refused to agree to your terms and ultimately declined the purchase of the steamer, upon which you intimated an intention of selling her to the Cochin Chinese with whom the Siamese recently were, or now are, on the worst of terms; and lastly that immediately prior to leaving Bangkok you gave the Siamese Authorities a specimen of your mind pretty freely.

I have no doubt that the novel situation of Mr. Harvey, who I learn is a very young man, can be anything but agreeable, and I think it is to be lamented that he was left behind under such circumstances. I do not, however, understand that he is forcibly detained at Bangkok, and I cannot therefore anticipate that he is in the smallest danger, nor do I think that there is sufficient grounds at present to warrant any movement on my part.

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth,
Governor &ca., &ca.

Singapore
The 19 March 1844.

India Political Consultations, Range 197, Vol. 10.

No. 216.

Fort William, The 28th March 1845.

(Enclosure F.)

To the Honorable Colonel Butterworth, C. B.,
Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

On the 24th April last I had the honor to address to the Right Honorable the Governor General of India a memorial * setting forth various infractions by the King of Siam of the Treaties made at Bangkok on the 20th June 1826 between Captain Burney, acting on behalf of the East India Company, and the Siamese Government, and a number of acts of bad faith and oppression practised towards me by the King of Siam, through which, after suffering great personal wrong and much pecuniary loss, I was at last compelled precipitately to quit the kingdom of Siam leaving property to the amount of three lacs of rupees at the mercy of His Siamese Majesty.

* *See ante, Range 196, Vol. 53.*

On requesting to be favored with the Governor General's reply to my representations I was informed that, copies of my memorial had been sent to the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces and the Governor of the Straits Settlements in order that they might enquire into and report upon the matters therein set forth. In consequence of this reply I came to the Straits Settlements and at an interview with which your Honor favored me at Penang on the 2nd June, after my arrival from Calcutta, you were pleased to advise me to return to Siam, and having lost no time in complying with your suggestions, I now do myself the honor of stating for your information and that of His Excellency the Governor General the proceedings which took place subsequently to the 2 June until the time of my finally leaving Siam.

In my memorial I mentioned the breach of contract on the part of His Siamese Majesty respecting the steamer "Express" and that after His Majesty's refusal to receive and pay for it, I was compelled hastily to withdraw in the steamer from Siam. Finding that there was no hope of His Siamese Majesty abiding by his engagement, and that there was little probability of my being able otherwise to dispose of the steamer at Singapore, Calcutta or in China, I was obliged to accept an offer to purchase it which was made at Singapore by an agent of the King of Cochin China to prevent in some measure the heavy loss which would otherwise have arisen from the steamer having been thrown upon my hands by the Siamese King.

On my arrival from Calcutta at Singapore I made over the steamer to the agents of the King of Cochin China and finding that none of the Commanders of ships trading to Siam would give me a passage from fear of incurring the displeasure of the King, I was obliged to charter the small schooner Venus, in which I sailed from Singapore on the 29th June last.

Immediately upon my arrival at Bangkok about the middle of July I waited upon the Prime Minister (Praklang). He received me very coolly and enquired why I had returned to Siam. I informed him that I had come to look after my property. He then told me that he had heard that my object in going to Bengal was to complain against the King, but that I was too little a man for the Governor of Bengal to take any notice of me, and added that as I had sold the steamer to the Cochin Chinese I had better go to Cochin China myself, that the Siamese were not at all afraid of the Cochin Chinese, and that I might go and get them (the Cochin Chinese) another steamer. On my applying for a pass to permit the schooner to leave Bangkok and return to Singapore I was informed that it would not be granted unless I left in her, and I was at last obliged to consent to this, and on the

24th July sailed for Singapore, having obtained permission to return with a large vessel to remove my property.

On my arrival at Singapore I chartered the British Barque "Gunga," Captain Bowman, in which I immediately proceeded to Siam. On my return to Bangkok the Siamese Authorities did not make any objection to my landing, but they refused to give me any assistance whatever in collecting my outstanding debts. On the contrary, the King caused it to be generally understood that it was against his wish that any one should assist me, and the consequence was that my native debtors were not slow in availing themselves of the open encouragement which was given them to withhold payment of their debts. Indeed it was so generally understood that those who paid me would thereby subject themselves to His Majesty's displeasure that some who were honest enough to wish to make payment of their debts were obliged to use many precautions in approaching my residence in order that it might not be known that they had held intercourse with, or assisted me in any manner.

I need scarcely point out to your Honor that this extraordinary course of proceeding on the part of the Siamese Government is a direct violation of the 6th Article of the Treaty of the 20th June 1826, which provides that "if a Siamese or English merchant buy or sell without enquiring and ascertaining whether the seller or buyer be of a bad or good character and if he meet with a bad man, who takes the property and absconds the rulers and officers must make search and produce the person of the absconder and investigate the matter with sincerity. If the party possess money or property he can be made to pay but if he do not possess any or if he connot be apprehended it will be the merchant's own fault."

The merchants were moreover prohibited from dealing with me, every impediment was thrown in the way of my satisfactorily settling my affairs, and every kind of annoyance that despotism instigated by malice could invent was practised against me. It would be a disagreeable task and it would give needless trouble to your Honor were I to relate these grievances in detail, but I may mention one or two instances to show how deeply rooted must have been the feelings of hostility entertained against me and how unscrupulous the King was to* the means which he took to gratify it.

* (sic.) ? in

It was intimated to me before the Gunga had half completed her loading that it was His Majesty's intention to visit the Churches (which he does in a boat attended by a large number of courtiers and priests in other boats) and that the Gunga must go outside, an order which was immediately obeyed, although it was not extended to any other of the ships which were then lying in the river. In consequence of this arbitrary proceeding I was obliged to incur considerable expense in sending the cargo down the river to the ship in small junks.

A message was at the same time sent to me that I must also go down the river while the King was afloat. This I complied with and remained for 3 or 4 days when I returned to my house which I reached in the afternoon. His Majesty upon being told that I did not seem so much annoyed by these proceedings as he had anticipated, broke out into a passion, and turned his rage against the Praklang, who narrowly escaped a flogging. The Praklang left the Palace about 11* o'clock p. m. when he immediately sent for the Port Captain, who being sick sent in his stead an old Portuguese Interpreter, named Sebastian, who had been in the service of three Siamese Monarchs and whom the Praklang immediately caused to be flogged. The Port Captain and this Interpreter came to my

* Sic.

house at about 11 o'clck p.m. when I was in bed and unwell and told me that I must forthwith go down the river outside the bar, that it was the King's Order and must be obeyed, and that the Praklang was prepared to use force in the event of my refusing to obey. I remonstrated with them, stating that I was very unwell and that it would be very dangerous for me to travel in the night, that I had no provisions of any kind on board my schooner but that I would start in the morning long before the King came out. The Port Captain represented what I had said to the Praklang, but he could not be prevailed upon to grant a respite of even a few hours, and I was forced to start for the schooner in a small boat in the middle of the night with my assistant, Mr. Christopher Harvey, who was ordered to accompany me, in which we went down to Paknam, and passed out to the shipping, when we got safely on board the Gunga and remained there for two or three days. The Church visiting ceremonies being then over, I proposed to return to Bangkok and accordingly started in company with Mr. Harvey and Captain Bowman of the Gunga in the schooner, but at the mouth of the river we were met by the Captain of the Port and Sebastian with a number of followers. They said that I could not be allowed to go up but must go back to the ship, and that the Praklang had given orders that I was not to be allowed to enter the river until the King gave permission. Mr. Harvey then went on board their boat for the purpose of proceeding up the river in their company and Captain Bowman and myself stood out for the Gunga. It blew very hard and night coming on we anchored, but the sea got so very rough that were forced to get under weigh again. The tide was then running very strong and every sea breaking over the schooner and the water was over the cabin floor so that we were obliged to bale it out without intermission. The night was excessively cold, and the weather so very

rough that we expected every minute that our little vessel would go to the bottom. At day light we found we had passed the ships during the night time, and that we had been drifted so far down the Bay that we could just see the Royal masts of the Prince of Wales, one of the vessels at the anchorage, dead to windward of us. Fortunately the schooner was recognised from the Prince of Wales and the first cutter, well manned, was sent to our assistance and reached us about 11 a. m., when we got into her, and she immediately proceeded towards the shipping, but though the crew pulled very hard, we did not reach the Prince of Wales until 4 o'clock p.m. when Captain Bowman and myself were so much exhausted that we were obliged to be hoisted up the side in chains and carried into the cabin. I soon recovered, but I sorry to say that Captain Bowman is still suffering from his exposure on this occasion.

The above will suffice to show how determined the King was on giving me all the annoyance he could, and I shall only mention one other fact by which it will be seen that no considerations of honesty or good faith were allowed to stand in the way when there was a chance of oppressing and injuring me.

In my first settling at Bangkok I leased a piece of ground from the King for the purpose of building a house upon it, and it was agreed that I was to pay a rent of 600 ticals per annum for the ground. The buildings were erected at my own charge upon an agreement with the King that when I should give up possession he would pay me for them. Instead however of his doing so he insisted when I was about to quit Siam last month, that I should pay not only the rent for the ground but also an equal sum for the buildings. With this tyrannical and unjust demand I was obliged to comply.

I finally left Siam on the 29th December last, having broken up my establishment there and merely

leaving Mr. Harvey for a short time in Siam to try and collect some of my debts.

Owing to the King's not only, contrary to the Treaty, refusing me all assistance, but even encouraging my debtors to defraud me, I have been unable to obtain payment of debts to the amount of Forty thousand Spanish dollars, and will suffer very heavy loss from a large quantity of goods having been returned to me by parties to whom I had sold them, and which have been deteriorated in value, besides what I shall lose by the King's having refused to receive the steamer and other property which I had ordered for him by his desire, and returned other property which had been sold to him.

A total disregard of the provisions of the Treaties between the Governments of British India and Siam still continues to be openly manifested by the Siamese King who rigidly enforces the monopoly of sugar, in consequence of which the price of that article continues higher than it otherwise would be, and His Majesty is apparently encouraged by the seeming indifference of the India Government towards his violation of the Treaties to more open and [un-]disguised acts of oppression and injustice and it is now manifest that unless forcibly admonished of the danger of his proceedings he will upon the first prompting of his ill regulated and ignorant mind, or of the interested and evil disposed foreign advisers (Klings &c.) who engross him to the exclusion of those of his own family and country who better perceive the true interests of the King and his subjects, entirely set aside and disregard the Treaties, if by so doing any momentary advantages can be gained or feeling gratified.

In conclusion may I request that you will do me the favor to bring this letter to the notice of His Excellency the Governor General and I have a confident trust that after due consideration of the

representations I have made in it and in my memorial His Excellency will be pleased to adopt such measures as may to him seem necessary to procure the due observance on the part of the King of Siam of the Treaties between the British and Siamese Governments as well as some reparation for the losses and injuries which I have suffered at the hands of the King.

I have &ca.

(Signed) R. Hunter.

Singapore
The 6 February 1845.

India and Bengal Despatches Vol. 43, pp. 631-633.

India Political Department.

* * * * * *

Para. 99. You stated to the Governor of the Straits Settlements that "there did not appear to be "a violation of any article of the existing treaty on the "part of the King of Siam," and we think with you that neither his monopoly of the trade in sugar, his prohibition of the export of teak, nor his augmentation of the duties on various kinds of produce constitute such a violation, inasmuch as they are measures affecting the trade of his subjects generally and not their intercourse with our merchants in particular. Any appropriate opportunity should however be taken of endeavouring to prevail upon His Siamese Majesty to afford greater facilities to commerce.

100. By the treaty of 18th October 1826, we are bound to protect the Rajah of Perak against any aggression of this kind and as there appears to be no doubt that Krean is part of his territory you very properly authorized Lieut. Colonel Butterworth to withhold payment of the annual stipend to the Rajah of Kedah, until he should have withdrawn within the limits of the territory under his Government.

* * * * * *

We are &ca.

(Signed) J. Shepherd,

&ca. &ca. &ca.

London,
19th March, 1845.

(Addressed to the Governor and Council of Bengal.)

India and
Bengal Letters
Received
Vol. 47.

Fort William
Foreign Department,
The 16th August 1845.

To the Honorable
The Court of Directors
of the East India Company.

Honorable Sirs,

* * * * * *

Para. 115. The Rajah of Kedah having, in opposition to the wishes of our Government, obstinately retained possession of the Krean country which he had usurped from the Chiefrain of Perak, the instructions authorizing the suspension of the payment of his annual stipend until he should withdraw within the limits of his former boundary, were carried into effect.

116. The Rajah died in the early part of this year, on which occasion his son, Tuanku Dye, applied for pecuniary assistance to enable him to defray the expenses consequent on that event. For this purpose we sanctioned the advance of a sum not exceeding 3,000 dollars as a loan to the applicant out of the arrears of the stipend of the deceased Chief.

117. In the course of the correspondence which took place on this occasion, the local authorities suggested the advisability of obtaining from the Siamese State, the transfer to our Government of the district of Kotah, which was described as a triangular piece of land inconveniently projecting into Province Wellesley, and as the resort of persons of objectionable character. The proposed new line of demarcation, it was shown, would bring within the British boundary not only the tract in question but also a neighbouring stream stated to be now navigated by boats not liable to search, and therefore likely to prove detrimental to the public revenue. For the reasons above stated, as well as with advertence to the fact that the district in question was well adapted for a sugar plantation,

Colonel Butterworth urged that its possession by the British, was a very desirable object.

118. Before passing any decision on the question submitted for our consideration, we requested to be favored with the sentiments of the Governor of Bengal on the subject.

119. His Excellency viewed the proposition favorably, and we, in concurrence with that authority, instructed the Governor of the Straits Settlements to negociate for the transfer of the land referred to, on the basis of a moderate compensation as suggested by him.

* * * * * *

125. In the month of April last year, Mr. Hunter, a British subject engaged in commercial pursuits at Bangkok, complained in a Memorial addressed by him to this Government, of certain infractions by the King of Siam of the existing treaty with that state, whereby the Memorialist and other British traders resorting to that Port had been subjected to serious loss and inconvenience.

126. Mr. Hunter's Memorial was forwarded for report to the Governor of the Straits Settlements and the Commissioner for the Tenasserim Provinces whose replies * together with the papers in connection therewith, are now submitted for the information of your Honble. Court.

* *See Broadfoot to Currie, 2 July 1844 & Butterworth to Edwards, 13 Feb. 1845. Ind. Vol. Consl. Range 197, Vol. 10.*

127. On the receipt of Colonel Butterworth's report it was considered right, with reference to the statements and opinions therein comprized, to submit the documents to the fourth ordinary member of the Council for a legal opinion upon the question of the infraction of the commercial treaty, by the alleged proceeding of the King at Bangkok. By a mistake, however, in the office of our secretary, the papers were

sent to the Law Commission instead of to Mr. Cameron alone in his capacity of Member of Council.

128. Before the report of the Law Commission was laid before Government, your Honble. Court's despatch dated 19th March 1845* was received, the 99th paragraph of which contains the expression of your concurrence in the view taken by the Government of this question in 1843/44, when it recorded the opinion that the acts imputed to the King of Siam as shown in the papers then brought to our notice did not constitute an infraction of the existing treaty with that state.

** See India and Bengal Despatches, Vol. 43.*

129. As the circumstances mentioned in Mr. Hunter's Memorial do not differ materially from those on which the decision of Government on the former occasion was based, it was considered unnecessary, without further instructions from your Honble. Court to take any notice of the representation submitted by that individual, or to re-open the question of infraction in connection therewith, notwithstanding the adverse opinion recorded by the Law Commission in their report, a copy of which accompanies.*

** Not found.*

* * * * * *

We have &ca.

(Signed) H. Hardinge
&ca. &ca. &ca.

Fort William
The 16th August 1845.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons: Range 197, Vol. 30.

No. 86.

Fort William the 10th January 1846.

To F. Currie, Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of India.
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit for the information of the Right Honble. the Governor General of India, copies of the several communications which have passed between the Rajah of Ligore, the Rajah of Perak, the Acting Governor of Quedah and myself in reference to the Krean country, subsequent to my despatch to your address under date the 21st December last. *

See ante, this Rang: Vol. 5.

2. On my recent tour to the Northern Settlements I requested the Acting Governor of Quedah to favor me with an interview, but he made a trivial excuse, * evidently to avoid a meeting, and I then solicited * him to state definitely his intention, regarding the Krean Country usurped by his father from the Rajah of Perak, to which he replied * that the question rested with the Rajah of Ligore. I have reason to believe that he is afraid of making any movement in the matter till his nomination as the Governor of Quedah shall be confirmed.

*A.
*B.
*C.
See infra for these documents.

3. The last letter* received from the Rajah of Ligore also shows a desire to postpone any final decision on the subject of Krean till the nomination of Taunkoo Daye alias Zeynal Rashid, the son of the late Rajah shall have been approved of by the Court of Siam. I have again addressed the Rajah of Ligore in the hope that he may be induced to make the appointment of Taunkoo Daye conditional on his restoring Krean to the Rajah of Perak.

*D.

4. The Rajah of Perak* had become a little impatient at the early part of the year and from what

*E.

I perceived when in Province Wellesley on the borders of the Krean country, I was disposed to think that hostilities would be commenced without waiting for the result of my further reference to Ligore which I intimated * having made. I therefore determined to seek a personal interview with the Rajah and accordingly wrote to that effect appointing Kotah Siac a place from fifteen to twenty miles up the Perak River at which to meet him,

* E.

5. On my return from Penang I proceeded on the steamer to the spot indicated, and was met by a vast concourse of people, the whole reach of the river being studded with boats. After some general conversation I induced the Rajah to accompany me to the steamer, where I explained most fully what had been done to obtain the restoration of Krean and urged him to refrain from hostilities till I should receive a definite reply from Ligore, to which he readily assented, as he would I fancy at that moment to any request, for both he and his chieftains were overwhelmed with awe and astonishment at the machinery and movements of the steamer.

6. Upon taking leave of the Rajah I presented him and his chieftains, who were accompanied by about 200 followers, with a few common shawls or handkerchiefs which are much valued in that part of the world, the cost of which did not exceed 40 dollars, and we parted on the best of terms with the full understanding that he was not to make any movement touching Krean till a Governor should be nominated to the Quedah Country.

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth
Governor.

Singapore
The 5th September 1845.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons: Range 197, Vol. 30.

Fort William the 10th January 1846.

No. 87.

A.

Translation of a letter from Tuanka Zeinoon Rasheed, Son of Padooka Murboom Sultan Ahamad Tajudin Hall* mishale, Governor of Quedah, to the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, C. B., Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

* *Sic. ? Allum. Shah.*

The letter our friend addressed us on the 3rd day of Jemadil Awal (8th May 1845)* has reached us in safety and its contents we have made ourselves acquainted with, in which we are informed that our friend has arrived at Penang and intimated a wish to have an interview with us. At present we cannot go to meet our friend as our Brother Taunka Mahomed Akil has proceeded to Ligore and there is no one that we can leave behind to be in our stead. Of this our friend is already fully aware. We therefore have to solicit that our friend will not take offence particularly at the present moment.

* *This letter does not appear. The date should be 5th May.*

Quedah, 3rd day of Jemadil Awal Hejerat 1261 (8th May 1845.)

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 30,

Fort William the 10th January 1846.

No. 87 contd.

B.

From the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Honorable the Military Order of the Bath, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

To Tuanku Daye, Quedah.

(After Compliments.)

I have received my friend's letter dated the 8th instant stating that he is unable at the present time to meet my wishes by coming to Penang to confer with me, as requested in my letter of the 5th, in consequence of the absence of his brother.

I regret that my friend cannot leave Quedah till the return of his brother from Siam, and as this event may not occur for some time I now write the particulars on which I wished to hold a conference with my friend vizt. the unjust retention of the Krean Country belonging to the Rajah of Perak.

A letter recently received from the Rajah of Ligore, which I was desirous of showing to my friend, in which mention is made of a communication to his address to the same effect must prove to my friend the view taken of this matter by the Court of Siam, for the Rajah of Ligore distinctly recognises the right of the Rajah of Perak to the Krean Country. I now beg that my friend will forthwith send me a definite answer as to his intentions on this question, that I may communicate the same to the Supreme Government of India and the Rajah of Ligore and take such further steps as may appear necessary, the Rajah of [Perak] having abstained from any movement to regain the Krean Country solely with the desire of meeting my strongly expressed wishes on this point.

Written at Penang this 27th May 1845.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth,

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 30.

No. 87 contd.

Fort William the 10th January 1846,

C.

Translation of a letter from Taunkoo Zeynal Rachid Son of the deceased Sultan Ahmed Taljoodin Allum Shah of Quedah &ca., addressed to the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Honble. the Military Order of the Bath, Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore and Malacca, &ca. &ca.

(After Compliments.)

We have to inform our friend that his letter to our address on the subject of the letter from the Rajah of Ligore to our friend's address in which it is stated that he (the Rajah of Ligore) acknowledged the right of the Rajah of Perak to Krean and that a letter had been addressed to us also by the Rajah of Ligore to the same purport.

We have now to state to our friend that a letter to that effect regarding Krean has never reached us.

We will now write to the Rajah of Ligore about this, and whatever may be the orders, we will be guided by them, as this country of Quedah is under the Authority of Siam. Our friend is well acquainted with all these matters, and this regarding Krean has been referred to Siam, and it prevents our being able to do anything without the knowledge of the Siamese Authorities.

Written this 1st day of Jemadil Ahkir (7th June 1845).

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:. Range 197, Vol. 30,

No. 87 contd.

Fort William the 10th January 1846.

D.

Translation of a letter from the Rajah of Ligore.

This letter is from us . * . . addressed to the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Honble the Military Order of the Bath, Governor of Singapore, Malacca and Pulo Penang.

* *The titles of the Rajah of Ligore here inserted are so misspelled as to be totally useless. They are therefore omitted.*

With Compliments &ca.

We have received two letters from our friend the Governor of Singapore, one from Captain Peroni, an English merchant who took it to Siam. In the said letter it is stated that our friend the Governor of Singapore had sent a letter to us. This we had answered to our friend the Governor of Singapore, but we have not heard further on the subject of it. The other letter was sent to us by Chou Boree Rat-pooban, Rajah of Poongah, 25th day of the 3rd Moon year of the large snake Chow sok. In that letter our friend stated that he has received a letter from us and was glad to hear what we said in every particular. With regard to what Chow Pia Chree (Rajah of Quedah) had done to the Rajah of Perak it was not right. Now our friend the Governor of Singapore requests us to order the Rajah of Quedah to give back the country unto the former boundaries as far as what the English know it to be and as it was when Tuankoo Anoon was Rajah presiding over Kedah. All the ryots know that this would be but justice and that if we ordered the Rajah of Kedah to go away from Krean, our friend thought that the Rajah of Kedah would follow our directions. Our friend the Governor of Singapore had written to the Rajah of Kedah to the effect that we had written to the Rajah of Kedah desiring him and his people to leave Krean. We have written to the Rajah of Kedah regarding this affair and our

friend can direct the Rajah of Perak not to fight and disturb the country for the regaining of Krean. Our friend's letter was also full of many other friendly matters, all which we understand. With regard to to Krean Rajah Mudah (Tuanka Abdullah) informed us, and which we wrote to our friend, the Governor of Singapore, on the subject. That our friend knows everything therefore regarding it. We afterwards sent a letter by a person to the Rajah of Kedah desiring him that the boundaries of the territory of Kedah as they have always existed ought to be guarded and fixed by marks so that they may never be exceeded and thereby prevent quarrels and wars between the two countries and making enemies amongst the people.

The Rajah of Kedah wrote to us stating that Krean had always really belonged to Kedah that he did not wish to seize any lands of Perak. That the Seals formerly in use for that place are forthcoming, and that there are persons of consequence at Perak and Krean who can be searched for and from whom the real truth can be obtained. This the Rajah of Kedah wrote on the subject which coincided with what the Rajah Mudah had stated. If we were arbitrarily to order that the Rajah of Kedah should do as our friend the Governor of Singapore has written, the Rajah of Kedah would consider it unjust as he states he has proofs in the possession of a Seal and that persons of consequence both at Perak and Krean are witnesses who can be questioned as to the truth. Now the Rajah of Purlis and the Rajah of Chabang Passo wrote to us that on the 25th day of the 12th moon Rajah Mudah (Tuankoo Abdullah) died and that on the 26th day of the 1st Moon the Rajah of Kedah also died. It is said that the Malay custom is that the dead Rajah cannot be buried until his successor is placed in his stead. The Rajah of Purlis and Rajah of Chabong Passo have requested that Peeyah

Intawee Chye, son of Chowpia Chree (meaning Tuankoo Dye, son of the Rajah of Kedah) be raised the dignity and to govern Kedah, in the meantime to bury the deceased Rajah and to follow the Malay customs, and requested us to report the same to Siam to the foot of the Throne of Phrabat Somdet Phra Buddha Chao Yu Hua of Phra Maha Nakhon Sri Ayuthia, to pray that the wishes of His Highness the King may be taken. We have done as these Rajahs wished and presented the petition, but the answer has not yet returned and the matter is therefore unsettled. If it is His Highness the King's wishes to raise Prah Intawee Chye to the dignity of Rajah of Kedah according to the wishes of the country everything will be quiet and settled. When this is all settled and Prah Intawee Chye confirmed, this matter of Krean can be enquired into and whatever it may be we shall let our friend know. Do not let our friend the Governor of Singapore be angry at the delay.

This letter is written in duplicate, one in the Siamese dialect and the other in Malays, both of the same meaning.

Written 11th day of 5th Moon Year Little Serpenchasok.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons., Range 197, Vol. 30.

No. 87 contd.

Fort William the 10th January 1846.

E.

Letter from Sultan Abdullah Mahomed Shah of the Country of Perak to the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

After Compliments.

That I have formerly written to my friend of date the 9th September 1843 * on Saturday, respecting Krean which was taken by the Rajah of Quedah and to which my friend desired me to remain silent for a period of 2 or 3 months, but as I have waited now for a considerable time and received no intelligence from my friend up to the present moment I therefore request that my friend will let me know decidedly regarding (Soonghi) Krean whether it can be restored back to me or not, which is the object of this present application to my friend.

* *Not copied.*

Dated the 21st Moharum 1261 on Thursday 31st January 1845.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 30.

No. 87 Contd.

Fort William the 10th January 1846.

F.

From the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Noble the Military Order of the Bath, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

To the Rajah of Perak.

I have received my friend's letter under date the 31st January last relative to Krean, which was usurped by the late Governor of Quedah.

I have every hope of shortly seeing my friend reinstated in that country and it would therefore be most unadvisable for my friend to make any movement till the successor to the Governor of Quedah shall be nominated by the Rajah of Siam, who takes a favorable view of my friend's right to Krean. I am still, and have been for some time past in correspondence with the Rajah of Ligor on the subject.

Dated at Singapore this 23rd day of February 1845.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol, 30.

Fort William the 10th January 1846.

No. 88.

To The Governor of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

In reply to your despatch dated the 5th September last* submitting copies of your correspondence with the Rajah of Ligore, the Rajah of Perak, and the Acting Governor of Quedah, relative to the Krean Country, and detailing your proceedings in reference thereto, I am directed to state that the Right Honble. the Governor General approves your proceedings in the matter, and sanctions the presents which you made to the Rajah of Perak and the Chieftains on the occasion of their visit, amounting to 40 dollars.

* *See ante in this Vol.*

I have &ca.

(Signed) F. Currie

Secretary to the Government of India
With the Governor General.

Camp
Futtehpore Sickree
The 31st October 1845.

India and Bengal Despatches Vol. 47, pp. 559-565.

India Political Department.

* * * * * *

Para. 66. After the death of the Rajah of Kedah there will, we hope, have been no further delay in obtaining the evacuation of the Krean country, which he had usurped from the Rajah of Perak.

67. You will report to us the result of the negociation which you have authorized Lieut. Colonel Butterworth to open with the Siamese authorities for the purchase of the district of Kotah, a small slip of land projecting into Province Wellesley, the possession of which is considered desirable for reasons both of revenue and of police.

* * * * * *

69. With respect to the personal injuries complained of by Mr. Hunter, they appear to have been in some measure provoked by his own imprudence; and there would probably have been difficulty in establishing the facts in such a manner as to entitle your Government to make a public demand of redress on his behalf. We approve, therefore, of your non-interference.

70. The general question remains whether the King's assumption of a monopoly of sugar is an infringement of the treaty. You referred the question to the Law Commission, who are of opinion that it is so. Major Broadfoot is of a contrary opinion, and you have determined not to intertere.

71. Monopolies being a frequent, and even habitual resource of the Siamese Government for purposes of revenue, we cannot but think that, if the Government had intended to bind itself never to re-establish them, an express provision to that effect

would have been inserted in the treaty. Without distinct proof in the correspondence at the time, that such was the intention of the negociators, we do not think our right of remonstrance sufficiently clear to induce us to exert it.

* * * * * *

We are &ca.

(Signed) H. Willock.

&ca. &ca. &ca.

London
2d January 1846.

(Addressed to the Governor and Council of Bengal.)

India Pol. and Foreign Cons: Range 197, Vol. 45.

Fort William 3d October 1846.

No. 4.

To G. A. Bushby Esquire,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India
Fort William.

Sir,

* * * * * *

My letter dated the 31st January 1845,* to the address of F. Currie Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India, announced the death of the late Governor of Quedah, Sultan Ahmad Tajadin, Hakim Shaw, and my desire to avoid any permanent movement with reference to the Krean country usurped by him from the Rajah of Perak, till a successor should be nominated to the Government of Quedah by the Siamese authorities, which event I hoped would have taken place during the past or early in the present year, when I had reason to think that the just expectation which Twanku Dye might entertain of obtaining a continuance of the annual stipend guaranteed to his father by the first article of the Treaty with the King of Quedah in 1802, would lead to an early settlement of the question of Krean, and I then proposed to enter into negociation regarding the purchase of the District of Kotah.

* *See Vol. 8 of above series*

Tuanka Dye or Tuanku Zemoor Rasheed, the eldest surviving son of the late Governor of Quedah has been residing at Ligore for some time past in anticipation of his nomination to the Government of Quedah, and it is generally believed, although I can obtain no authentic information of the fact, that he is detained there, if not forcibly, under false pretences. I have therefore again written to the Rajah of Ligore relative to the restoration of Krean to the Rajah of Perak, but I have deemed it expedient for the present to make no

reference to the District of Kotah, as by so doing, I might in a measure appear willing to compromise the interest of the Rajah of Perak in my desire to obtain an an accession to our territories.

I trust the Right Honorable the President in Council will approve of my letter to the Rajah of Ligore, a copy of which I beg to enclose, as also of my having refrained from taking any positive steps with reference to the District of Kotah pending the settlement of the Krean question.

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth
Governor.

Singapore
26th August 1846.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 45.

Fort William 3d October 1845.

No. 5.

From the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Honble. the Military Order of the Bath, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

To the Rajah of Ligore.

(After Compliments.)

I had anticipated from my friend's letter of the 2d September 1844,* that the necessary instructions would long since have been given to the Quedah people to withdraw from the left bank of the Krean River, which was acknowledged by the Siamese Government as belonging to the Rajah of Perak at the period of the ratification of the Treaty of Bangkok in 1826, and accordingly was never interfered with by Tuanku Anum, the then Siamese Governor of Quedah.

* *Not traced.*

My Friend intimated in the above letter that so soon as a Governor should be appointed to Quedah the question touching the Krean country should be settled. Now as I understand that Tuanku Dye, the eldest surviving son of the late Governor, Sultan Ahmad Tajudin Hallim Shaw, is at this moment residing at Ligore preparatory to receiving this appointment to the Government of Quedah, I beg that my friend will forthwith give such instructions as will ensure the withdrawal of that Chieftain's people from the Perak territory.

I have hitherto succeeded in preventing the Rajah of Perak from making any movement to regain his possessions, but I cannot hope to do this much longer, and I must therefore beg that my friend will at once take measures for the due fulfilment of the Treaty of Bangkok, under date the 20th June 1826, wherein both parties are expressly bound to maintain

the friendly relations then existing between the English and Siamese, which must be materially affected by hostilities on the Krean River, otherwise I shall be obliged to report to the Supreme Government of India the unsuccessful termination of the references I have made to my friend, a step I most earnestly desire to avoid.

The District of Krean is separated from Quedah by the River Krean, a most natural and distinct line of boundary from the sea on the west to the mountains on the east, which run parallel to the Coast at a distance of 30 or 40 miles, as my friend will observe by a reference to the map of the Country. Moreover the Rajah of Perak was in possession of his territory of Krean when the Treaty of June 1826 was signed and the proceedings of the late Governor of Quedah were therefore in direct opposition to the 14th Article of the treaty above referred to, which declares that the "English and Siamese shall not send any force to go and molest, attack or disturb Perak."

I earnestly solicit an early reply to this communication, as the people on both banks of the Krean River are in a most unsettled state, consequent on the usurpation of the Krean District by the late Governor of Quedah, in direct opposition to the Treaty above referred to. I am desirous of communicating with my friend on other matters, but I refrain from doing so till the question of Krean be satisfactorily settled.

Dated at Singapore this 25th August 1846.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth
Governor.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 196, Vol. 45.

Fort William 3d October 1846.

No. 6.

To Governor of the Straits Settlements.

Sir,

* 26 Aug. See ante, No. 4.

In reply to your letter of the 23d* August last, I have the honor to state that the President in Council approves of the tenor of your letter to the Rajah of Ligore relative to the restoration of Krean to the Rajah of Perak, and of your having refrained from entering into negociation with regard to the purchase of the District of Kotah pending the settlement of the Krean question.

I have &ca.

(Signed) G. A. Bushby
Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William
The 3d October 1846.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 54.

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

No. 36.

To G. A. Bushby Esqre.,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India
Fort William.

Sir,

With reference to my letter under date the 26th August last,* I have now the honor to report that Tuanko Dye, alias Tuanko Zeinoon Rashid, Ebene, Murboom, Sultan Ahamad Tajudin Hallim Shah, Governor of Quedah, the eldest surviving son of the late Rajah of Quedah, has returned from Ligore, having been duly recognised by the King of Siam as successor to his father.

* *See Range 197. Vol. 45 of this series*

2. The return of Tuanko Zeinoon Rashid to Quedah was most opportune, for the country bordering our territory had been thrown into considerable excitement by the untoward proceedings of Tuanko Mahomed Saad, the Chieftain who was sent by Mr. Bonham as a state prisoner to Calcutta in 1841, and remanded to Penang in September 1843.

3. Tuanko Mahomed Saad, after the receipt of the letter to my address dated the 29th January 1844,* having proceeded to Quedah, located himself at Kotah, and then and there commenced levying taxes on the inhabitants of the District of Prye, upon which he professes to have some claim in right of his wife. Not content with this, he undertook an expedition a few months since, with about 150 followers, and an elephant which he obtained from a bad character named Puteh Toh Ting, against whom there is a warrant out for murder, to secure possession of the tin mines at Pulie, under the charge of Hadjee Dultam, the revenue, dues and tolls on which, amounting to about 2000 dollars annually, are collected by the

* *Not copied.*

Quedah Government at the mouth of the Muda River by a person named Tuanko Ibrahim.

4. On this information being brought to Tuanko Ibrahim, he forthwith gathered together his people, and advanced to meet Tuanko Mahomed Saad, when a skirmish took place, in which several persons were killed on both sides terminating in favor of the latter, who returned to Kotah with about 100 prisoners, of both sexes, several head of cattle, &ca., whilst Hadjee Dultam, the person in charge of the tin mines, equally afraid of both parties, ran away to the jungles.

5. No time was lost on the intelligence* reaching Province Wellesley from the Acting Governor of Quedah, Tuanko Mahomed Hakip, in communicating with Tuanko Mahomed Saad,* and in giving publicity to Act X of 1839, and in directing the Superintendent, Captain Ferrier, to abstain from all interference, and to prevent strangers from locating themselves, or driving cattle within our territory, lest it should be, as without such orders it doubtless would have been, made the receptacle for stolen property, by either or both of the adverse parties. At the same time, free admission was given to those who might feel disposed to pass on to Penang without offensive weapons of any kind, and with the understanding that they were not to return till hostilities should have terminated.

* *See infra. 20 Oct. 1846.*

* *Do. 27 Oct. 1846.*

6. At this period, Tuanko Zeinoon Rasheed, Ebene, Marhoom, Sultan Ahamad Tajudin Hallim Shah, reported* his return to Quedah, and his determination to proceed against Tuanko Mahomed Saad. Captain Ferrier, the Superintendent of Province Wellesley, who is a most trustworthy officer, then took advantage of his proximity to Kotah, to seek a private interview with the latter, in the hope of inducing him to surrender up the property he had taken, dismiss his followers, and ask forgiveness of his sovereign but without avail. He then obtained the Gun Boat from Penang,

* *Do. 3 Nov. 1846.*

which he stationed at the Prye River, close upon Tuanko Mahomed Saad's position, and with a judicious arrangement of the small Police Force at his command, succeeded in maintaining peace and quietness, and allaying the fears of the inhabitants of Province Wellesley, without moving troops from Penang, which I was most anxious to avoid, unless under circumstances of extreme necessity.

7. Tuanko Mahomed Saad was easily defeated and he is now a fugitive; it is generally believed, but nothing certain is known of his movements, that he has proceeded towards the Southern end of the Provinces, some say with a view of inducing the Rajah of Perak to espouse his cause, but I think this improbable, for the old Rajah must have heard too much of the said Tuanko Mahomed Saad to trust him. Moreover his family have all come to Penang, where I have ordered that they shall be permitted to remain unrecognised and unmolested, so long as they keep quiet, and in the event of the smallest hostile movement, that Act X of 1839 shall be enforced against them.

8. It appeared to me extremely desirable to view the matter as a mere émeute on the part of Tuanko Mahomed Saad and his followers, and to treat it as lightly as possible, lest it should grow into a question of sufficient political importance to unsettle the minds of the inhabitants of the northern end of the Straits, which are readily excited by the recollection of the untoward occurrences between the Siamese and the late Governor of Quedah, and the successful result of this course is to be attributed to Captain Ferrier, who has acted most steadily and judiciously on the occasion, under the direction of the Resident Councillor at Penang.

9. The return of Tuanko Zeinoon Rasheed Ebene, Marhoom, Sultan Ahamad Tajudin Hallim Shah, offered such a favorable opportunity of again mooting the

question of the restoration of Krean to the Rajah of Perak, and of ascertaining the feeling of the Government of Quedah with reference to our obtaining possession of the District of Kotah, the scene of the present disturbance, that I lost no time in addressing that Chieftain on the subject, in a communication of which the enclosed is a copy* herewith forwarded, in the hope that it will meet with the approval of the Honorable the President in Council, and that I shall hereafter be enabled to report a satisfactory result.

* *See infra. 5 Dec. 1846.*

I have &ca.

(Signed) W. J. Butterworth
Governor.

Singapore
the 11th December 1846.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 54.

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

No. 37.

Translation of a letter from Tuanku Mahomed Hakip, acting for Tuanku Zeynoon Rashid, ruling the Kingdom of Quedah and with compliments &ca &ca. goes addressed to the Honble. Samuel Garling Esquire Resident Councillor of Pulo Penang and its dependencies.

Let it be known to my friend that on the 14th of this month Shawal one of our people came to complain that Tuanku Mahomed Saad accompanied by above 150 of his people, had been to a place called Kupong, in the interior of Qualla Mudah, seizing everything they could get including buffaloes and bullocks. Many of the owners of the property they caught and murdered and their houses were burnt by them.

We sent our relative Tuanku Ebrahim, presiding over the affairs of Qualla Mudah, to meet them and to retake the property and return them to their lawful owners. But Tuanku Ebrahim was not in time to get up to them and thus Tuanku Mahomed Saad escaped with them to Cottah Prye.

We are backward in following them to Cottah Prye as it is situated in the immediate vicinity of the Company's lands, aud those of all our friends,

This proceeding of Mahomed Saad is extremely bad and contrary to every usage and will be a grievous offence to the Siamese, and just now Tuanku Zeynoon Rashid has not yet returned to Quedah. It is not proper that we should remain passive and we wish to send and recover all the property seized by the said Tuanku Mahomed Saad and return them to their right owners.

We therefore previously inform our friend of our intentions in case there should be fighting between our people and those of Tuanko Mahomed Saad as the place is so very near to all our friends and the Company's territories.

In the meantime we would wish to have the opinion of our friend in answer to this our letter that we may know how to act.

Written 29th Shawal 1262.

20th October 1846.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:. Range 197, Vol. 54, No. 38.

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

To Tuanko Mahomed Saad.

(Usual Compliments.)

Herewith I forward to my friend a copy of a letter dated 29th Shawal received from Tuanko Mahomed Hakip, acting for, and in the absence of Tuanko Zeynoon Rashid setting forth that my friend entered Kupong in the interior of Qualla Mooda and there took violent possession of the cattle, and that several of their owners were killed. Being desirous of promoting peace and good will between all our friends around the Company's territory, we were concerned upon learning these tidings and would now endeavour to prevent the evil consequences which would result from any warlike movement on the part of Tuankoo Zeynoon Rashid, or his agent Tuanko Mahomed Hakip, for the recovery of the property, and vindicating his authority.

Should the facts be as stated by Tuanko Mahomed Hakip, I would enquire upon what provocation my friend adopted measures which tend to a rupture with Quedah and may possibly excite the jealousy of the Siamese and irritate them against my friend. I would also enquire whether my friend is disposed to restore the property carried away as here described, and to make such further restitution as may satisfy Tuanko Zeynoon Rashid and preserve the peace of the interior.

(Signed) S. Garling
Resident Councillor.

P. W. Island
The 27th October 1846.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons., Range 197, Vol. 54.

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

No. 38 contd.

Translation of a letter from Tuanko Mahomed Saad &ca. addressed to the Honble. Samuel Garling Esquire Resident Councillor of Pulo Penang &ca.

(Compliments.)

My friend's letter was received with every respect the language of which was so sweet to hear and filled us with delight, and we return our warmest thanks to our friend.

With regard to Tuanko Mahomed Hakip's letter stating that we had gone and seized the buffaloes and cattle of the inhabitants of Kupong and that we had killed half of their owners, we never did anything of the kind as stated of seizing property and killing people who were the owners of them.

We went to Kupong to secure some bad people, there was a little fighting, some of our people were wounded, and one of the thieves was killed, others ran away vizt. Hadjee Dultam and Mahomed Soonghoot, who had previously robbed and burnt a place called Karangun, where people were employed collecting tin from mines not far from Koolim. We had expended a good deal of money in these mines of Koolim. All the people employed in the mines and in cultivating the high land paddy, and who kept buffaloes and cattle were seized by Hadjee Dultam and Mahomed Soonghoot and carried to Kupong with their buffaloes and cattle. The mines were in consequence abandoned and no one left who knew how to work them and our money advanced for the working of these tin mines was lost.

Respecting Tuanku Mahomed Ahkib's intention to send and take back the property he says we had in possession, we are not aware in what they consist as

we deny having taken any body's property. Referring to Tuanko Mahomed Ahkib's intention of coming to enquire of us we must submit to it and put our trust in the Almighty and our just cause. Of the ryots of Kupong one of the Panghuloos has removed and joined us, together with his wife and family and his buffaloes and oxen. These people have two or three head of cattle each and have brought with them their property. There are of these people so removed fifteen families, consisting of their children and grandchildren, being unable to cultivate paddy and pay the tax of one Koonchah each person imposed on them since the death of the late Rajah. Many of them this past year did not get any paddy and were obliged to sell their property and incur debts to raise $5 each to take to Quallah Mudah instead of the paddy. This is what they have complained of to us.

What we have stated in the letter we declare before God to be true and no fiction.

We forward copy of a letter which we have addressed to Tuanko Ebrahim and our friend will see all that we have said.

Written 31st October 1846.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 54.

No. 38 contd.

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

Translation of the Enclosure.

7 [*October 1846.*] The blessing of the Almighty goes from us addressed to our Cousin Ebrahim. There is a place called Karangun under the Government of Prye given to the Father of our wife Tuanku Fatimah by the late Rajah Mudah of Kyang under the sealed document. The late Rajah of Cotah Leta also admitted of this claim and the Father of Tuanku Fatimah, Tuanku Soleyman, removed from Purlis to Prye at the time the Rajah of Ligore attacked Quedah and drove out the late Rajah Mudah, and then their claims were not disturbed, and he gave a document that he should not be disturbed by any future Rajahs of Quedah or by the Siamese in the Government of Prye and its dependencies, and our late father and his people by the assistance of Providence lived in quietness and peace. The whole of the country under him, thanks to the Almighty, was not disturbed by the Siamese.

In the year $\frac{1261}{1845}$ in the month of Ramalan, Hadjee Dultam collected his followers and seized the property of the people of Karangun who were working the mines and carried off some to Kupong and others escaped into the woods. After Hadjee Dultam had left, those from the woods returned to their paddy fields. The last month of Rabie Hawal Hadjee Dultam and Hadjee Soonghoot came again and seized these people, and the paddy housed was burnt in their houses, and [they] left hanging up certain signs of defiance such as wooden swords, together with arms on trees. It is stated in our cousin's letter that if we wished to have Hadjee Dultam we should make known our wishes to Tuankoo Mahomed Ahkip. In what manner does our cousin mean that we should act? Hadjee Dultam went and burnt and seized the property of the

people of Karangun and our cousin knew of it, and so far from seizing the said Hadjee Dultam and sending him to us, being the agent of Tuankoo Dye, our cousin did not even send for him and his people and punish them by confinement in the Fort of Setar for a month or two. How then could we have considered these matters? Our dependencies for living was by advancing money to the cultivators of paddy living at Karangun and by advances to the mines of tin which amount to $578.96½. This place Karangun, at the time of the late Rajah of Setan (Quedah's) life was under the Government of Prye and has not since been changed.

We went to apprehend those robbers and met some Macow Chinese cutting down timber at Karangun, who told us that it was with a permit from our cousin. This proceeding ought not to have been done without consulting us, as relatives, and appears as if intended to drive us away. Not only has our cousin refrained from apprehending thieves, even Chinese are sent to cut down timber. Our residence at this place of Prye is to possess the property belonging to our wife's father, and he had further other property at Quedah, which by the laws of God and man, ought to be given. The father of our cousin (Tuankoo Ebrahim) and of Tuanku Dyé were similarly situated. Our father also was Paha Sultan Abdullah, and according to the laws and customs of Quedah we ought to receive our share of the revenues, and in one year to the amount of three to four hundred dollars.

We however did not ask for it but were content with what we got by right of our wife.

With respect to these Chinese working as stated we have received the duties, and we request that our cousin will not demand it again of them as these poor people will be paying double duties and we shall have cause to be offended, as relatives, with each other, our

names be disgraced in other countries on hearing of these acts. If we take what does not belong to us we only receive curses. If our cousin will not hear this our advice, it will not be us that wish to change the customs, it will be our cousin that does so in not following what is laid down in the Koran as it is stated.

It has never been our wish to act against the old customs; whoever should [commit this fault] the sin of doing so will fall on himself.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 54.

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

No. 39.

Translation of a Malay letter from Tuanku Zeinoon Raschid* Ebene Marboom Sultan Ahamad Tajudin Hallim Shah of Quedah.

* *Known as Tuanku Dyc.*

To the Honble. Samuel Garling, Resident Councillor, Pulo Penang, dated 13th day Dalkaidah, 3rd November 1846.

(After Compliments.)

That on our return from Siam by land through Ligore to Quedah whilst half way we received letters from our brothers Tuanku Mahomed Hakep, Tuanku Ebrahim and Tuanku Mahomed Samman intimating that Tuanku Mahomed Saad had combined with people of bad character and come over the Qualla Mudah River in the District of Kupang under our jurisdiction, where they have plundered buffaloes and cows, murdered several of the ryots, burnt their houses, took their families and carried them and their cattle away to Kotah Julutong Prye, which place is also within our jurisdiction. We are just now on our journey in haste and if in a day or two we reach Quedah it is our intention to prepare a force to go and seize Tuanku Mahomed Saad and it is very possible that it will terminate in open war. We therefore have to acquaint our friend of this inasmuch as Kotah Julutong Prye is contiguous to the Company's territories, and as we have from time immemorial been friends to the Company We should wish that this timely intimation may reach our friend. As for Tuanku Mahomed Saad our friend is aware that he is well known for years past to be a wicked man.

Written the 13th day Dalkhaidah.

India Pol., and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 54,

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

No. 39 contd. To Tuankoo Zeynoon Rashid.

With Compliments.

My friend's letter of the 13th Dalkhaidah I have received. I am concerned that any proceedings of Tuankoo Mahomed Saad should oblige my friend to adopt measures for attacking Cota Jalutong Prye, and nearing our mutual boundary with an armed force.

I duly appreciate the consideration which prompted my friend's letter, and I rely with confidence upon his endeavour to restrain his people from any acts of aggression within or upon our mutual border, and from proceedings of whatever character which can in any way affect the good understanding which has so long existed between the British Government and the Government of Keddah. My friend may rely with every confidence upon my assurance that I shall exert my best endeavours to prevent, within the British border, any movement or proceedings at variance with the friendship now subsisting between our respective Governments.

I have communicated all that has transpired to His Honor the Governor of the three Settlements.

(Signed) S. Garling
Resident Councillor.

P. W. Island
The 12th November 1846.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 54.

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

No. 39 contd.

Translation of a letter from Tuanku Zeinoon Rashid Ebene Murhoom Sultan Ahamad Tajudin Hallim Shah, Governor of Quedah.

To the Honble. Samuel Garling Esquire
Resident Councillor of P. W. Island &ca., &ca.

(After Compliments.)

That on the 28th day of Dhal Kaidah (17th November 1846) our friend's letter came to us and that we have made ourselves fully acquainted with its contents. We are requested in that communication that our people who are about proceeding after the capture of Tuanku Mahomed Saad should be restricted from acts of violence either within or on the boundary of the English Government so as to cause a breach of the good understanding existing between our respective Governments, and of our friend's assurance that nothing should occur within the Company's territory which might tend to disturb that amity. We feel grateful to our friend for his attention towards us in having communicated the whole of this affair to the Honble. the Governor of the three Settlements. We have to apprize our friend that we have on our part duly restricted our people from committing acts of disturbance approaching any parts of the English boundary, as we are fully aware of the long established alliance between our respective Governments, and of the mutual aid required each from the other and upon the faith of such an understanding, we implicity trust that our friend will not either into this affair of Tuanku Mahomed Saad, inasmuch as his acts are wicked, going about to commit rapine within our jurisdiction, burn houses, murder carry away property and cattle belonging to our people, but that our friend will render every assistance to us.

Written on the 28th day of Dhalkaidah 1262.

India Pol. and Foreign Cons:, Range 197, Vol. 54.

No. 40.

Fort William the 6th February 1847.

From the Honble. Colonel Butterworth, Companion of the Most Honble. the Military Order of the of the Bath, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

To Tuanku Zeinoon Rashid Ebene Murhoom Sultan Ahamad Tajudin Hallim Shah, Governor of Quedah.

(After Compliments.)

I write to congratulate my friend on his return from Siam, and on his having succeeded to his father's rank and titles, which I trust he may long enjoy in health and prosperity and that he may prove a blessing to the people over whom he has been appointed to rule.

The present appears a most suitable period to call my friend's attention to my letters, under dates the 5th* and 27th May 1845,† relative to the usurpation of Krean, and, and to exchange a hope that he will show to the world the uprightness of his intentions by restoring that country to its rightful owner, the Rajah of Perak.

* *Not copied.*

† *See Ind. Pol. Cons. range 197, Vol. 30.*

I have intimated to the Governor General of India the hope that my friend's return would be marked by the above proceeding, and it would give me extreme satisfaction to be able to report that this hope had been realised, in order that my friend might stand in the same position with that authority as his ancestors did prior to the usurpation of Krean. Let me hear from my friend on this subject.

I was sorry to learn by a letter of my friend addressed to the Honble. Mr. Garling that Tuanku Mahomed Saad, some time past a resident in Kotah, had been causing disturbances in my friend's country.

but I doubt not this has all ended to my friend's satisfaction, and he may rest assured that Tuanku Mahomed Saad shall receive no countenance or support in any of his wicked proceedings from the British authorities.

This Kotah has always been a receptacle for the bad characters of my friend's country, as well as those from Penang and Province Wellesley, and the people there will continue to give us both trouble so long as they are able to run from the jurisdiction of one power to that of the other, by claiming to be the subjects of the British or Quedah Governments as may at the moment suit their particular ends and views. I would therefore suggest to my friend an alteration in the boundary by which Kotah should become part of Province Wellesley.

If my friend concur with me in the expediency of this measure, I will request Mr. Garling to depute Captain Ferrier to meet any person my friend may nominate to negociate this matter. I am aware that my friend's subjects may be put to some inconvenience in moving from Kotah, and that my friend may be caused expense on their account, which to a certain extent I should be happy to defray. My friend would do well to communicate on this question with Mr. Garling, in order that peace and quietness may continue on our respective frontiers.

Dated at Singapore this 5th day of December 1846.

Printed for private circulation.

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THE

BURNEY PAPERS.

Vol. V.

PART 1.

(Retrospect of British Policy from the period of the first Establishment of Penang 17th July 1786–1839.)

Printed by order of the Vajirañāṇa National Library.

BANGKOK

1914.

India Political
Consultations,
Range 196, vol. 14.

Fort William the 22d June 1842.

No. 27.

A
Retrospect
of
British Policy
in the Straits of Malacca, from the period of the first Establishment of Penang (17 July 1786) up to 1839, and combining Historical Details respecting the Straits Settlements and the neighbouring Native States.

Introduction
Chapter I.

The following account was written by me several years ago[a] and before I was aware of the nature of a pamphlet which had been published by Mr. Anderson[b] and which, from having been distributed at the time and privately to a few individuals only, did not become public until its republication in the Singapore Chronicle. My intentions appeared therefore to have been somewhat anticipated. But on reflection it has occurred to me that this account may prove acceptable to the Supreme Government not only because I have treated the points it embraces in a different and more copious manner than Mr. Anderson has done, but as I have been able to advance some new matter, having an important bearing on the political relations of Keddah and Siam. I have introduced, in chronological succession most or all of the occurrences during the period alluded to which are of historical interest or value. I trust also that I have succeeded in condensing the subjects treated of as far as consistent with perspicuity.

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a. A good deal has since been added to it.
b. Anderson's Malayan Peninsula.

Writers on Keddah Affairs.

Nearly the whole of Mr. Anderson's reasonings rest on the assumed position that Siam never possessed any right to control the Malacca Peninsula generally, and the state of Keddah particularly; and that there were no historical documents regarding the latter which could be consulted. He observes that "he had "been unable to trace in a satisfactory way the history "of the Country of Keddah beyond the grandfather of "the present King," and adds: "The King, who was "possessed of various historical records, lost them all "upon the Siamese invasion." Yet with this acknowledged paucity of information he describes the Keddah race as having emigrated from Malacca, and "that it flourished under a race of Mahometan "Sovereigns for many centuries, and never was "under Siam, except as the transmitter of gold "and silver flowers." I by no means wish it to be inferred that I believe Mr. Anderson to have been aware of the existence in Penang of any such historical record, but it has always appeared to me singular that with his admitted knowledge of the Malayan language, and after the daily intercourse he had with the Rajah of Keddah and his Chiefs, he was not better informed on the subject, and of the real relations which had existed betwixt Siam and Keddah during about 500 years.

With respect to the two first of that gentleman's positions above alluded to, it might probably not be difficult to show that he has cited passages from authors which go near to contradict, if not to invalidate them, and in regard to the third position, I trust that the evidence which will be adduced in this paper will show that he laid it down rather unadvisedly.

The Political calm which has, to the eastward, followed the Burman War, and the definitive Treaty with Siam, are favourable to taking a dispassionate view of British and Indo-Chinese politics in connection with

each other. I will confess that when the Siamese invaded Keddah I was impressed in some measure with the general feeling of sympathy for the Ex Rajah's misfortunes, although I trust that my judgment has not been thereby warped when the nature of his position became a political question. I had the honour of
1850. being for a considerable period employed by the Penang Government in an endeavour to persuade the Ex-Rajah to proceed to Malacca, and it is well known to the Government how he was persuaded by others to retract his promise made to me that he would go to that settlement.

Although thus employed in a negotiation highly disagreeable to the unfortunate Chief, and one in which my personal feelings were superseded by considerations of duty, I was yet enabled to continue on the most friendly terms with him. During a confidential conversation I had with him regarding the ancient condition of the Keddah country he produced a written historical account of it, that one which Mr Anderson has described as having been lost, and after I had inspected it in his presence, he ordered his secretary to make a copy of it for me, which copy I soon after received from the Rajah. It is in the Malayan language, and from it I have made those extracts which bear on Keddah politics with relation to Siam.

Accounts of Keddah.

It appeared to me very strange at the time that the Rajah was not aware of the obvious bearing of the work in question on the value of his political rights. But his conversation afterwards proved to me that if he had ever read the book he must have forgotten much of its contents. This history I have ever since kept amongst my private papers, for as the Rajah had irretrievably lost all hold on the Keddah country, and all political negotiations regarding it with Siam had long ceased, its production would not have altered matters in any way. Even had the case been otherwise, I

would not have betrayed the confidence placed in me by the Rajah by using the documents to his disadvantage. It may be however remarked, that if the Rajah did conceal his history from Mr. Anderson, he must have been in some degree aware of the doubts which several passages in it were calculated to create respecting his claim to perfect independence.

It is rather singular that the Rajah or Chau Phriya of Ligor had endeavoured to suppress the history. When in a visit to him he never mentioned to me its existence, but I was confidentially informed by Siamese, that he had obtained a copy when Keddah was occupied by his troops in 1821, and that he had got it re-written, the new version being free from all that part of the original which describes the 2d Colony or race of Keddah as derived from a western people. It could be no valid argument however against the claims of Siam that she allowed colonists to settle in her territories. If this be true it is just as well that he should consider the history, ab origine, at least, not absolutely, although it really be so, in favor of Siam, and that he will never found arguments upon it. If he had produced it, however, while negotiations were pending, it is to be inferred that the cause of the Ex Rajah would have lost by it in a great degree. In fact it quite nullifies his pretensions to reign.

British Rights—Treaties.

The greatest inconvenience which arose from the political discussion as to the Rajah of Keddah's rights was, that they seemed to involve to a certain extent the nature of the British tenure of Penang and Province Wellesley. But whatever opinions may have been entertained on this point, and whatever doubts may have been expressed regarding it, the whole have been since fully set at rest, not only by the right to occupancy allowed by the Siamese and admitted by them without cavil or question in the Treaty of

See the engagement between Ibbetson and the Rajah of Ligore, 2 Nov. 1831 (Bengal Secret and Pol. Cons. Vol. 363.)

Bankok, but by the subsidiary treaty founded on the 3rd clause of this original one, which finally fixed the boundary of the British possessions on the Peninsula opposite to Penang (a).

Writers on Keddah.

The Supreme Government of British India has from the first establishment of Penang, invariably declined interference in Keddah affairs on the ground of the vassalage of the country to Siam, yet much has been written (b) in the attempt to show that the Keddah Dynasty was always and up to the time of Siamese usurpation, as it was termed, independent of Siam. It will be a source of gratification to me if I have succeeded in adducing historical arguments derived from unwilling witnesses in favor of the sound views adopted by the Supreme Government in opposition to such arguments. The subject will be adverted to hereafter; meantime I shall only observe that the opponents of these views seem to me to have been so far misled by their feelings that they have almost blended together two questions which ought to have been kept quite distinct, the one, the actually existing or previously existing relations between Siam and Keddah, and the second the political expediency of supporting or of not supporting Keddah against Siam without reference to such relations. The chief error into which these writers have been betrayed has been owing to the necessity which their individual mode of proceeding imposed on them of making out a case which should at the least have a semblance to reality and serve for a season.

(a.) If this treaty should ever therefore be abrogated by the contracting parties by mutual consent, or by the British alone, the bearing of these treaties on the tenure by which Penang and Province Wellesley are held will require to be kept in view.

(b.) Prince of Wales Island Records—Mr. Anderson's Memoir.

Mr. Anderson sets out with an endeavour to promote two things—First, that when Pulo Penang was settled by the British the Siamese claims were not noticed, Secondly, that the cession of the Island was made on the express condition that the British should afford their protection to the Raja of Keddah against Siam. I shall have occasion to enter more fully on these points in the sequel. But it seems to me that in order to avoid too frequent references the most eligible plan will be to analize this writer's statements briefly and consecutively.

To the first of the above arguments it may be replied that as the Siamese were not invited to be parties to the Treaty of Cession they could not have known its purport. That they would not have become parties to it as it stood, is plainly to be inferred from the great displeasure they expressed at the cession when it became known to them. Their fear of the British power, and other views, even then deterred them from the endeavour to drive out the British, and their overtures on several occasions for establisning a friendly intercourse with Penang still further veiled their feelings.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Light made some vague verbal promises of protection to the Rajah of Keddah, and it is equally clear that he had no authority for thus committing himself, while the Raja, by concealing the truth, subjected himself to all the penalties following his duplicity.

Penang Records. The subsequent conduct of the Raja too, joined to his correspondence with the chief authorities at Penang, sufficiently evinces that had the protection he wanted been conceded by treaty his first act would have been to have defied the Siamese, and thereby to have brought on a war betwixt the British and that nation.

The next argument adduced for the necessity of supporting the Raja at the period alluded to is the philanthropy of the measure. It is needless to insist on the irrelevancy of mixing up such an argument with a question of mere political right or expediency. We are next told that the supplies of Penang would be cut off. This evil would have been a partial and short-lived one, and as has been proved since, would have been obviated by the event then the most dreaded, and which afterwards happened, the total absorption of Keddah by Siam. The writer then tries to show that by not snatching the Rajah out of the hand of Siam piracy would increase. The Keddah people were never really addicted to piracy, as they have ever been more attached to agricultural than to maritime pursuits. But as in the foregoing case this argument has been upset by subsequent events.

From the time of Mr. Scott and Mr. Light up to that of Mr. Anderson (a) the Siamese are represented as a powerful, a proud and presumptuous people, ferocious, treacherous, ambitious. On these and other terms of similar import changes have never ceased to be rung, until those who used them began to be tired of them, and to forget that there was a possibility of their applicability being controverted, and all this vituperation arose from the circumstance that the Siamese laid claim to what they considered as a rightful possession. In such a case these last were better justified than the writers alluded to were in their endeavours to impugn it with such weak arguments as they used. At any rate the *barbarity* of the Siamese nation was no reason why the British should have gone to war with it, unless that barbarity had been exerted against the settlement of Penang or against the general tranquillity of India.

(a.) Prince of Wales Island Record.

Not only has the power of the Siamese as a nation been extravagantly extolled, but Mr. Anderson has compared his Siamese Majesty with "the ambitious ruler of France," Napoleon. How are such lavish encomiums to be reconciled with Mr. Light's own statement which has been reiterated up to the period at which Mr. Anderson wrote, that two companies of sepoys and four six lb. field pieces, with a supply of arms, would effectually defend Keddah against the Siamese, because although a destructive enemy they are not formidable in battle. What bathos we have here—a powerful and grasping nation yet liable to be baffled and opposed by two hundred men.

It was also argued by the above writer that we could not afford to lose the trade of Keddah and its supplies, and that the eyes of the Malayan States were on us. Now a country which like Keddah never had a clear revenue exceeding perhaps one lac of rupees, and the bulk of which was the fruit of oppression, could not be one the possession of whose commerce would be a sine quâ non in mercantile policy, and as to the latter argument, although the good opinion or respect of the Malayan tribes was desirable, it did not follow that to secure this the British should become their chivalric champions in the Straits.

It is further observed that it is doubtful whether the Keddah Rajas transmitted the Boonga Mas to Siam before the Portuguese conquered Malacca. The quotations from the Keddah History will remove his doubt. The next argument is from Vauttel, that provided a a nation secures to itself its own sovereignty it must be deemed independent. But as it can be shown that there was no sovereignty in this case, but that the Government of Keddah was conferred on each successive Prince, including the present Ex Rajah Chau Pangeram (a), by *the Siamese Court*, so the retention

(a.) Chau the Siamese word for "Lord," equivalent to the Malayan Tuankoo.

of the power of creating a Governor or Ruler or of exercising the authority of one, did not rest with the Keddah race or any individual of it.

After having before assured us that he could not trace the Keddah history beyond the grandfather of the Rajah (the Ex Raja) the author is yet undeterred from stating as a further argument that history does not record the concession of any thing further than mere tribute by the Keddah Rajah to the Siamese(a) It will be seen in the sequel that history does record something more than this. On this point, continues the author, Captain Light was best qualified to judge *because* he obtained the grant. If this argument were reversed it would be nearer the truth.

That gentleman, intelligent as he was, had committed himself both with the Supreme Government and the then Rajah of Keddah. He could not have expected that the latter should have made political disclosures striking at the foundation of his own assumed title to govern Keddah.

It comported best therefore with the position in which he had placed himself that he should believe what the Rajah told him, and declare that "it did not appear either by writing or tradition that Keddah was ever governed by the Siamese laws or customs, and that there would have been some remains had there been any affinity between them, their respective languages and letters." The Keddah history explains a few of these points, and my own researches into the remains of antiquity in ancient Keddah will elucidate others.

Looking at the whole question as a matter of mere speculation it did not necessarily follow, even allowing the Siamese once swayed the Peninsula, that their rights had never been impaired or shaken.

(a.) This fact is admitted by the Rajah of Keddah's letter to Mr. Bruce dated 23d April 1810*

* *See Fac. Records, Straits Settlements, Vol. 20.*

Chapter 2nd.

The Malayan Annals (a).

I shall now advert to such portions of these annals as tend to disclose the extent and nature of the Siamese influence in the Peninsula.

The annals commence with a portion of the history of Hindoostan which becomes insensibly blended with the account of the Peninsula of Malacca. The annalist (a) describes the invasion of this country by Rajah Saran of Amdam Nagara, who had previously been at Gunga Nagara (b), and his arrival at Klang Keo or Kooee, which is expressly stated to be a Siamese appellation. But as the Malayan letters express but very imperfectly Siamese words and as this name so written would imply a Treasury, I prefer writing it Kalang Keo, the Diamond river, which better accords with the text.

The Prince of this territory, by name Raja Chohan (which is a Siamese title), went out to oppose Suram and as the annals record gave his orders in the *Siamese language* to call Suram to come and meet him. Chohan's troops were Siamese, while those of Suram were Klings (c). Raja Chohan was defeated and his daughter O Nang Keo (Nang Keo*) the Siamese Princess was captured.

* *Diamond Princess.*

Suram then advanced to Tamsack where his expedition terminated. This appears to have happened about the year A. D. 1130 and certainly before

(a). The "Sala Sila peratoran Segula Raja Praya" is the title of the book or chronological account of all the Rajas (Malayan). My copy does not in matter materially differ from the translation of these annals by Leyden, which last has been extensively used by several writers.

(b). Gunga Nugar.

(c). Natives of the Malabar coast.

1160, for it is related in the 3d Annal that Sang Nild retamaa, grandson of Suram, subsequently known by the title of Sri Turi Buhana, emigrated from Bentan where he had settled, consequent on his marriage with the daughter of the Queen of that place, and arriving at Tanjong Bemban saw from the top of a rock the white sands of Tamsak. I do not know if such sand be now visible from the Sumatran shore. It is plain however that the name Tamsack had been bestowed on the place before the first recorded or traditionally reported emigration from Sumatra. Suram then sailed across to that place and formed a settlement. This was in A. D. 1160. The natives of India were well acquainted with the Eastward at this period, for their intercourse with the Eastern Islands began about the beginning of the 2d century of our era(a). Tamsak seems to have been the ancient name of Ishore embracing the extremity of the Peninsula and Singhapura or Singapore, for in the same annal by Tamsak is evidently meant "the Country" the title of Singapura having been bestowed on the place first occupied by the Rajah after a fanciful animal representing a lion.(b) The difficulties which probably had hitherto existed in forming a settlement at Singhapura, or on the Peninsula, had been removed by the conquest and settlement by Raja Suram of the territory of Raja Chohan at Khlong Keo, which was most probably the Johore River. The plain terms in which this unjust invasion is recorded to have taken place, and this by

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(a). Arabs visited the Eastern Islands in the 9th century and an intercourse existed betwixt India and China B. C. 126. In 800 B. C. China became an Empire in 30" N. L 5 W. of Ligan. The religion introduced B. C. 65. The Buddhist dispersion took place also about the commencement of the 2d century A. D. The oldest temple in Java bears date 1188 of Salivahana.

(b). Tamsak is a Tartar appellation and it seems to be known and applied at the present day. I think the word occurs in Captn. Burnes narrative "Overland Route." It seems to have been a corruption of the Damasoka Raja of India.

Malayan annalists too, leave little room to doubt that Siam held at that period the supremacy over the southern portion at least of the Peninsula, and independent of other evidence would warrant the inference that she embraced the whole under her sway, Mr. Anderson has not been able to deny or to successfully combat these inferences. Tamsak is a corruption of Dhammasoka, the country (a) of a Raja of Hindostan, and derived to the Siamese through their Bali and other records obtained from Ceylon and other parts of India. This I have ascertained by the perusal of a History of that King written in the Siamese language and which has been used by this man's people to give an air of antiquity to the annals of Ligor.

The present Governor of this Province, amongst his other titles assumes that of Sri Dhammasoka Rat. It is probable therefore that at the period alluded to, just before the expulsion of Raja Chohan, the whole Peninsula was denominated Tamasak or Tamasoka. By omitting the aspirate and the vowel o, a common practice amongst Malays in writing, the latter word would become Tamsak (b). It is obvious also that this name was applied to that portion of the Peninsula visited by Suran before its invasion by him, and before the Malayan race had ventured to settle on the Peninsula, at least the southern part of it.

Raja Suran commemorated his expedition by leaving an inscription in the language of Hindostan on a stone at Tamsak. He then returned to Bejanagar in the Kling Country. There is an inscription on a stone

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(a). Dammosaka Raja of Mangir. His son went to Orjui *(sic)* to make an Arakan (!) of his mother. He afterwards visited Ceylon (Maha Minda was his name), in company with five Arabans in order to instruct the people in religion. This was 236 years subsequent to Buddha.

(b). Tamsak is also a Tartar title and I think Captn. Burnes mentions it in his overland journey to Europe.

or rock at Singapore which has baffled all attempts which have hitherto been made to decipher it, but from what I can learn, for I have not seen it, there is little doubt that the character is rather Indian than Indo-Chinese (a) and seems to partake of the nature of the characters of an inscription on stone found by me in Province Wellesley. This latter has likewise baffled the acuteness of the literate of Calcutta (b). I strongly apprehend that both are obsolete characters derived either from Ceylon or some parts of Hindostan. It is not improbable that the Island of Singhapura was part of Tamsak.

In the twelfth annal it is mentioned that an expedition which sailed under a son of Nizam Ul Mulie Akbar Shah Mani Firendan, King of Pahali(c) in the Kling(d) country was dispersed in its passage to Malacca.

In the thirteenth annal we have Siam described under the title of Sehore or Shuhre Nani(e), which is here stated to have had all the regions under the wind (*i. e.*, to the Southward of it) dependent on it. Its King Pho Boonyang attacked Malacca because it would not own his allegiance. The Siamese army came by way of Pahang, but it was defeated and obliged to return home. The annalist therefore here admits the fact that the whole Peninsula was subject to Siam when Singhapura was settled by the intruding Malays.

(a). I am convinced on late personal inspection that it is of Indian origin (1841).

(b). It has since been partly deciphered by the late Mr. Prinsep.

(c). Palibothra.

(d). Kling. Kalingara. part of the Coromandel coast.

(e). The nine cities.

It does not appear that the coast of Malacca was inhabited when the Singaporeans settled there. But their occupation was viewed by the Siamese as an invasion of their territory, and therefore resented accordingly. It is probable that the attacks of, or wars with, the Burmans prevented the Siamese from effectually opposing the encroachers. They seem to have been gradually obliged to withdraw to the northward. Pahang in Lat. about 3. 47 N. was one of the Provinces which, according to the annalist, was under the authority of Malacca, although it formerly belonged to Siam. At this period it was called Pura and the Raja, or the Government rather, was entitled Maha Raja Danee Sura, who was of the Royal family of Siam and of the Boon Yaang or Boonyahan Dynasty(a).

But the Malacca Rajas did not feel secure in their position, and we find accordingly that Sultan Mansur Shah, the Raja of Malacca about A. D. 1376, wrote to the Emperor of Siam in these terms. "It is desirable "that wars should cease and that no more blood "should be shed, and Boon yang phra Chau Udiya is "to be dreaded in battle but there are hopes of his "*favour and forgiveness.*" The Emperor took full advantage of this humility by treating the ambassadors who conveyed the letter to him as if they were, and we may believe with truth, his liege subjects, for the annalist acquaints us further that the King of Siam took both them and their followers on an expedition against a neighbouring state and placed them in the van of the battle. The forlorn hope amongst barbarous nations receives generally a high mede of honor, but the duty was here forcibly imposed.

(a). This title Boonyang does not occur on any list of Siamese Kings I have seen. It is probably some corruption of another term. In 1350, A. D., the Siamese capital Ayoodia was built by the 16th King in succession.

Phra Chau Oodiya (the Mighty Lord of Oodh) (a) replied and we may believe in that condescending and protecting style which Siam has exercised in its diplomatic intercourse with inferior and vassal states; and that she was justified in so doing is pretty evident from the manner in which this reply was received by Sultan Mansur Shah. The annalist has omitted the full purport of the letter but it was addressed "to the "Amei of Malacca, who on hearing it read was highly "gratified and said, now my heart is at rest for my "enemy is converted into my friend," and all who were present admitted that it was a *singular instance of the favour of God towards him.*

But we find that a good while after this happened, and in the reign of Sultan Mahomed, the fear of Siam had so far abated that the latter Raja sent an expedition against Calantan, then governed by a Prince, a descendant of Raja Calantan and of Siamese lineage. This Province, then under Siam, was reduced, and the family of its Prince, Sultan Mansur Shah, were conveyed to Malacca.

It would seem, owing probably to the causes before stated, [that Siam] had lost in a great degree her influence over the Peninsula States, and that a considerable period elapsed before she endeavoured in earnest to regain them. Malacca, for the Siamese, was an inconvenient place to attack, not only because it required a land expedition after debarcation of troops, but as we may readily admit from the imposing position of a seaport of such resort as Malacca was in those days and the facility with which the Rajas there could obtain fire-arms and aid from shipping. It is expressly stated by the annalist that the Siamese *were inferior* to the Malacca men in the use of fire arms.

13th Annal. The Siamese at length attacked

(a). The Siamese have adopted many Hindoo titles and this amongst the rest.

Pahang but were defeated owing to the aid afforded to its chief from Malacca. Ligor was yet under the Siamese sway, for it is related that the Rajah of Ligor, named Maha Raja Deman Sura, was ordered by the King of Siam to attack Pahang.

The Siamese subdued Patana in this reign, although its annals assert that its Prince, Okhoon Phoon, afterwards embraced Islamism and became subject to Malacca.

A. D. 1509. The advent of the Portuguese, which took place during Sultan Mahomed's life(a), no doubt gave to the Siamese a considerable advantage in prosecuting their task of regaining the Peninsula, and they have continued their endeavours up the present day with various success. So long as the Treaty of Bangkok shall continue binding, their rule southward will be marked by Patani, inclusive, on the east coast, and Keddah, inclusive, on the west coast of the Peninsula, and there can scarcely remain a doubt that were European influence to be withdrawn from the latter coast, this last would speedily revert to the Siamese.

It would seem that the States on the Peninsula northward of Johore, the rallying point of the Malays after their expulsion from Malacca, were either actually governed by Siamese Chiefs or were tributary to Siam, and that those who were in the predicament of tributaries found it advisable to conciliate the Rajah of Johore by acknowledging themselves dependent upon him. Also Gervaise says that in 1673 Sangora (a state adjoining Ligor and south of it) rebelled against Siam. Daloong, a central province or district now under Siam, is not mentioned in the Annals. Salangore was not then in existence. Perak was attacked and conquered by the Malacca forces and the

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(a). He had resigned his throne to Sultan Ahmed.

Rajah(a) of Keddah (probably Sultan Ma Alum Shah) went during Sultan Mahmud's reign to obtain the nobuts or drums of ceremony from that Prince, who was then the head of the islands. No mention is made of any country to the northward of Keddah. Floris states that Patani was under Siam in 1603 A. D. and was tributary in 1703. In 1786 it was again brought under perfect subjection by them.

I now proceed to the notice of those portions of the Keddah History termed *Marong Mahawangsa* which relate to the power exercised by its Rajas.

I shall not stop here to investigate the question who Marang Mahawangsa was. From the name and other circumstances I should incline to give him a Hindoo origin, and to fix Ceylon as his birthplace. Be this as it may he is described in the History or Annal which goes by his name, as having reached Keddah from Room, the latter term implying some part of the Byzantine Empire. He came in the train and as the chief follower of a Prince of Room [Rūm] who was proceeding to China to negotiate a marriage with a princess of the Emperor of that country. The fleet was dispersed and many ships were lost, if not all, except the one in which was Marang Maha Wangsa, and which reached the country now called Keddah.

About A. D. 1342.

The original name is not specially mentioned. But this Chief's party settled at Pulo Srai on the Island of Srai, as the term implies, and Srai is the name given by the Siamese to the whole country, although amongst the Malays it is the Keddah mountain and peak alone which retains the name.

This Peak, with a considerable tract around, is the Pulo Srai above alluded to, only it has ceased to be an island,

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(a). Phra Oong Maha Wangsa was the first Keddah Rajah who was converted to Islamism. He then assumed the title of Sultan Mahmud.

This colony, if a small body of men who seem to have arrived involuntarily may be so termed, found the country inhabited by a race which they deemed to be savage, but which reproach it does not appear to have deserved, for it is stated that the Chief, Phra Chahan, escorted a son of the Rajah Bodisat on a colonizing expedition, and that he was the son of a Malay man by one of the tribe in question, and had a very handsome son. These aborigines, if not actually of the Siamese stock, were followers at least of some sect of Hindoos, or Buddhists. Their names declare this fact. The new settlers were evidently Buddhists also, and this no doubt rendered their position less dangerous than it would otherwise have been, and hastened their amalgamation with the natives. We find the following names in the Keddah History, which are chiefly of Bali origin and known to the Siamese(a)

The History is silent as to the period when temples were first erected in Keddah or Srai, but my own researches have proved that the Siamese were concerned in building them. I have also been able most clearly to identify almost every spot, and particularly the most remarkable sites mentioned in the history, the general authenticity of which I might perhaps have else doubted.

Rajah Bodisat sent his eldest son towards Siam Lanchang, when he settled near the mouth of a small river, and built a fort and where he continued to rule, having several dependent provinces also under him. Unfortunately these provinces are not specified, so we are left in the dark as to the true position of the country thus occupied. It could hardly however have been

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(a). Nang Sooam (dhamma) the wife of Phra Chahan Parap (Tharap) their son. Nang Meri the daughter of a man of rank and wife to Phra Rajanuraks.

Siam proper, for this last is watered by a *large* river. But my object here is only to show to what this alleged emigration led (a). The second son took possession of Perak, and Bodisat's daughter, whose name is not mentioned, formed a settlement at Patani, which country continued long afterwards as we find from Floris to be governed by Queens, thus far corroborating the Malayan account.

Bodisat died and was succeeded by his youngest son who assumed the title of Sri Mahawangsa. About the same time his elder brother Parap sent from Siam to acquaint him that he had then a son seven years old. Gifts were also sent. Sri Mahawangsa sent an ambassador bearing a reply to his brother's letter, also presents of gold and silver flowers and spears, swords and other arms inlaid with gold. The King of Siam in return requested that similar gifts should be presented yearly to amuse his children.

This last assigned reason, or rather apology, for a concession of inferiority, if not of vassalage by the Keddah Rajah, is easily comprehended. It is only surprising that the history now quoted from, has not long ago been weeded of every passage obnoxious to Keddah independence, seeing that it was known for several centuries orally, if not in its written state, to the Mahomedan Chiefs of Keddah, and that many paragraphs in it show that the existing copies have been made by Mussulman pens. One quotation will

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(a). These colonies, if such they were, diverged about the year A. D. 1350, just about the period when the Siamese capital Ayoodiya was built. If these migrations had been stated to have gone forth from Ayoodiya the case would have been clearer, yet the near coincidence in the two periods is deserving of attention. If Marong Mahawangsa, the immediate predecessor of Bodisat, was a Buddhist, the latter would have had no difficulty in settling in any part of Siam or placing colonies in it. That he was an image worshipper is plain from the acknowledgment of his successor.

suffice. "The Queen Shureen went to repose in her palace in the west, and the King of the World, seated on his throne, gave audience on the edge of the horizon."

Maha Phrit Durya, the successor of Sri Maha-wangsa, was an atrocious tyrant according to the history, and was driven from the country.

The Ministers after this event, being at a loss how to act as they had no master, *sent to the King of Siam* to acquaint him with the predicament in which the country had been placed—meantime they continued to "administer the Government." The King of Siam allowed the young son of Rajah Bersiyong to govern Keddah. A good deal of mummery is here introduced by the annalist to break the effect of this exercise of His Siamese Majesty's prerogative and which it would be superfluous to detail.

It may as well be remarked that although much may be inferred from this circumstance as to the previous political relations of Keddah, it is the first instance actually noticed in the history of the direct assumption of power by Siam to give away the government of that country to any one it might choose to patronize. The young Chief having been discovered by the quackery alluded to, the King of Siam sent Kalahom (this title is given to a Minister of State) who was an old courtier, and who ruled the eastern provinces on a mission to Keddah. His instructions were to instal the young chief in the government, and to make other amicable arrangements consistent with this act.

If the power of making Princes or Governors to rule over Keddah was then acceded to by Keddah, and exercised by the Siamese, it follows almost as a matter of course that the latter had the power to unmake them when they fell off from their allegiance. When Kalahom reached Keddah the young Rajah and the four muntrees went out to meet him, and were

received by him outside of his encampment at Sungei Sala with every mark of respect. The letter of the King of Siam was then read and (agreeably to it) proclamation was made that the young chief had become Raja under the title of Raja Phra Ong Maha Photeesat. The Envoy returned to Siam five months after this event. The Rajah of Keddah sent gold and silver flowers by him to the great Raja of Siam in token of his having been installed in the government and of ever enduring amity.

After this period the King of Siam never omitted to send ambassadors annually to Keddah (to demand tribute it may be supposed) nor the Keddah Raja to send in return gold and silver flowers as mark of friendship (or rather vassalage).

Phra Ong Maha Wangsa, who succeeded his father Photeesat in the government, was the first Keddah Rajah who was converted to Islamism, and as Keddah was then a place of considerable resort to strangers we may suppose that the attachment to Siam became every day weaker. This conversion took place in the year of Hegira 879 or A. D. 1666, according to the *Achinese* Annals, for I cannot here follow the Keddah Annals, as they do not assign any date.

The History, as might have been expected, gives no account of the relations which existed betwixt Keddah and Siam subsequent to the introduction of Islamism into the former. Indeed the whole of the narrative after that time is only a meagre list of Rajas without any record of their actions (a).

(a). It is stated in the Sigara Malayoo or Malayan Annals that a Rajah of Keddah arrived at Malacca in the reign of Sultan Mahomed to request to have the nobut. This must have been previous to the year A. D. 1509, when the Portuguese had conquered Malacca. The Keddah Annals are silent on this head. The Ked-

The most curious part of these annals is the account of a Dynasty of Siamese Kings proceeding from a western stock. The original Siamese stock came from the north, and Siam became a nation as early as A. D. 757 according to their own chronicles, afforded to us by M. De La Loubere. But their city of Siam was not founded until A.D. 1351-2 or 1894 of the Buddhist era. Now Loubere also states expressly that all the Siamese Kings were not of the Siamese race and it is not improbable that they may have accepted Buddhist emigrants from India for their rulers. The era which I have assigned, A. D. 1340 (after collating the Achinese, the Keddah and Malayan Annals) for the first settlement of Keddah, so closely corresponds with that of the building of Ayodhia, as thus described by the impartial Loubere, that it is impossible to withhold assent to the fidelity of the details of the principal events in the Keddah History. The chronologies however of Siamese Rulers given both by M. De La Loubere and Mr. Crawfurd throw scarcely any light on this subject. The first of these authors acquaints us that the first King reigned in 960 of the Siamese era or A. D. 419, and that there were successively fifty-two kings on the throne up to 1894 of their era, when the capital of Ayoodia was built. Some further particulars on the subject will appear under the head of Ligor.

The present Ex Rajah of Keddah undoubtedly precipitated his fate by an unconciliating and uncompromising behaviour towards the Siamese, totally at variance with his position. It was [to] the good wishes of the Court of Bangkok that he had owed the Government of Keddah.

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dah people were not fully converted until A. D. 1612, when according to the Achinese Annals Ishan Pahlaman subdued Keddah and took Rajah Supaka a prisoner. The Portuguese historian De Faria acquaints us (vol. 3 p. 197) that Keddah was destroyed by the Portuguese under James de Mendes Furtado in 1614.

Can his impudence then be palliated or his fate be deeply sympathised with? Whenever a dependent province of Siam denies its allegiance the latter nation exerts its right to dispossess the local ruler, and either to replace him by another of its own choice or else where it has been merely tributary to annex the refractory province more firmly to the Empire.

In the case of Keddah we find a list of Chau Phiyas or Governors styled (by themselves only) Rajas, nearly allied, if we believe [them], to the reigning dynasty of Siam, speaking the Siamese language (until the influx of Malays from Acheen, Menang Kabou and other Malyan States had introduced the Malayan language and caused it nearly to supersede in a great measure the Siamese tongue) bearing Siamese titles, and enjoying Siamese dignities and delegated authority, and until their conversion to Mahomedanism, about 1464, zealous adherents to Buddhism.

Keddah Antiquities and History.

I now proceed to offer in addition to the foregoing proofs and arguments such other facts as have been elicited by me during my researches (on the spot) into the antiquities of Keddah in former times. As it is my intention to publish a separate account of the latter, I shall only here advert to the facts which bear on the political question under discussion.

The first Rajah of Keddah Marrong Mahawangsa did not certainly arrive there before the the year 1300, but I have assigned 1340 as the probable period. Now I trust it has been proved that the Siamese race extended south to Johore or some place near the extremity of the Peninsula before A. D. 1160, while it is obvious that since they were then powerful in this Peninsula they had been a good while settled on it before they were expelled in part by the transient expedition from India and by the Malays.

It has also been shown from the Keddah Annals that the country was peopled and probably densely so by a race of Buddhists who, under the name of Rakhshas or Raksasas, applied to them afterwards by the Malays when they became Mahometans, were truly Siamese.

The first mention of these inhabitants refers to the period of Mahawangsa's first arrival in Kedddah, when "many of the Rakhshas came down to visit the strangers and were greatly afraid." That the chief of these people was *selected by the Keddah Raja "to escort his son to Siam"* is an additional proof of the former having been a Siamese.

Hindoo and Buddhist Temples.

The numerous Buddhist and Hindoo temples on both banks of the Muda River and now in ruins, were probably built by the aid of the Siamese, although there are sufficient proofs extant, and which I shall notice in another paper, that the Hindoos frequented Pulo Nai or Keddah while these temples yet remained entire, and that they erected temples

to Maha Deo and other Hindoo Gods. In a square compartment formed in a square of granite which composed part of the foundation of one of these temples, I discovered a thin plate of gold on which are the following words, written in old Siamese characters "Ka tham thong" which is apparently an enigmatical phrase, for a Siamese priest who was present when it was found could not explain it further than by rendering it literally thus—Ka (a particle used to signify I—he—it) *make gold.*

There are also several thin leaves of the same metal containing Bali writing in a character rather obsolete but which the Siamese can read. The metal or bronze images and ornaments found appear to have been brought from Ceylon or some part of continental India, so that if Marrong Mahawangsa was not a Buddhist priest himself he seems to have been soon followed by many.

I have traced the ruins of upwards of 20 temples, and in some of these I have found images, not only of Buddha, but of other well known Hindoo Deities.

Keddah Aboriginal race.

Amongst the many proofs existing that the Siamese race peopled Keddah before the Malays reached it, it may be observed that there are descendants called Sammans of the pure Siamese stock, and which race has continued in Keddah during the whole period of the Malayan rule, i.e., since the chiefs under Keddah became Islamites.

People of this race are still numerous at the following places in Keddah

Vat Loohoh Wallei
Ooj ng Sinna
Padang Kharhae or Thong Khihae
Padang Phteng
Lammen
Lampam
Bengka and Wat Pado and in Prov. Wellesley (500 persons). These people speak still the Siamese language and are still attached to the religion of Buddha.

But the Siamese race must have extended to Keddah subsequently to the annexation of Ligor, as before noticed, to Siam, apparently about A. D. 758. In the Annal recording that event Keddah is not mentioned amongst the Provinces dependent on Ligor. Indeed it was probably not then inhabited or in so trifling a degree as not to have merited notice.

Title of Keddah and Ligor Rajas.

The Ex King himself bore the Siamese title of of Chau Pangeram, and from the Undung Undang or "Malayan Laws and Customs" of Keddah I extract the following paragraph.

"The Raja of Keddah will thus address the Raja of Ligor, Chow Phya Ratana Songkram Rambhakdi Sri Sultan Mahamad Rana Raja Bodind Besaorin Terina Wangsa Phya Srai Buree.

To

"Chow Phya Sri Thammasookkaraj Jatti Dejo jai Mahai savariya apai phiriya Krom Bahu Chow Phya Nakorn Sri Dhammaraj," which may be freely rendered "The Chau Phriya(a) who is pure in mind, the chief in battle, virtuous as Rama, the pre-eminent Sultan Mahmood Rana, the guardian Raja, resplendent and of the illustrious lineage of (Marrong Maha) Wangsa, the Chau Phriya of the country of Chrai (or Keddah).

(a). Chau Phriya is a title given by the Siamese to the Governor of a Privince of the *EK* or first rank (Moo-ung-ek). In the above title there is a strange mixture of Hindoo, Mahometan and Siamese words.

Thus all the objections of Mr Anderson and his followers to the title of Governor as being given to the last Keddah Chief are upset by an undoubted Keddah document of long standing; the Raja of Keddah and the Raja of Ligor were governors of equal rank. EK is not a Siamese word. It is the Hindostanee yek (one) and as the Hindoostani numeral is also applied to the succeeding classes of Provinces, the supposition therefore before made that some of the Siamese Kings were originally from India is rendered more probable.

To

Chau Phriya Sree Tam Sookrat (Damasoka the name of the first alleged Prince of Ligor) of an illustrious lineage, unconquerable in battle, glorious as the sun, preternaturally endowed, the voice of Majesty and Vice-gerent, the Chau Phriya of Ligor, renowned for virtue." (a)

General Policy

In describing the policy which has hitherto been observed to the eastward a few reflections still remain to be offered, and it appears to me better to insert them in this place, although they apply to different periods, some of which are recent, than to scatter them throughout this narrative. The British alliance was courted by most of the petty states on the Malayan Peninsula, with the avowed intention of obtaining shelter under her flag from the alleged ambitious assaults of Siam. Had therefore the desire of extending the British Power in this quarter existed it might not have been difficult of accomplishment even then. Now the practicability of such an extension could not be doubted. But a state of neutrality was essential to the speedy growth of the colony, established as it was on broad commercial principles; and it combined the double advantage of embracing the trade of all parties, and of reserving for emergencies the strength of the state. It has been argued by the advocates for Malayan emancipation(b) that were the British to declare the independence of the Peninsula States not a soldier of the Company would be required to defend them against the Siamese.

This appears to be a bold assumption and it involves another; that no provision would be required

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(a). The Rajah of Ligor said in Durbar to Mr. Ibbetson where I was present, I am a great man here, have sounding titles and am called Raja, but at Court I must grovel on my knees and elbows like that man before you, pointing to his secretary.

(b). Mr. Anderson and others.

General Political Reflections.

against the wars of these States amongst themselves, in which some one party might invite the Siamese to assist it. This actually happened in Perak at the very time when the negotiations which established its independence were hardly concluded, several turbulent Chiefs having called on the Siamese to assist them against their lawful Rajah. But, say the advocates for an interfering policy, the British nation, by declining to take the Malayan States under its protection, removed thereby the natural outposts of its Straits possessions. This is mere conjecture. All that has been left undone amounts to no more than a refusal to prop up a barrier chain composed of most unequal links, and ready at all times to snap asunder of itself. Such a declaration of the independence of the Malayan States would in the early stages of British occupancy in the Straits have probably led directly to a war with Siam.—And now, although she might not, from the insight she has got into our power, venture to go to war, she would feel that a blow was aimed at her individually. It seems very doubtful how far the British nation would be justified in any dictation, which this would be, to Siam, and if so what right would the former possess to repel or attack the Siamese should they invade the emancipated states without any strong provocation on the part of the latter, or even after provocation.

It would besides be quite impossible to free these states and at the same time to prevent them, in the pride of anticipated support, giving umbrage to Siam.

But the difficulty and expense which would unavoidably attend the supporting of weak allies would assuredly not be repaid in commercial or other advantages. It would be indispensable, both externally and with reference to their individuality, that they should be subsidized. The Siamese could never be so far driven off by offensive and defensive alliances betwixt

the British and the Malays as to prevent the former, if so inclined and possessed of the power, from molesting either, nor could such a hold be obtained of that nation by these means as is now afforded by their responsible proximity to a long line of British Frontier. If the British are destined ever to war with Siam it will be at a period (and it is to be hoped far in futurity) when she shall be led to aggression by an exhibition of diminished British power, both maritime and with reference to India generally.

But the advocates for war, for such those undoubtedly are who urged an armed support of the Malays against Siam, however their reasons may be shrouded in the deceitful garb of philanthropy, lose sight of the fact that about one half of the whole population or 150,000 persons, have emigrated from the surrounding regions, and enjoy at this moment protection under the British flag in the Straits(a) and that the most fitting arguments against the emancipating or in plain terms the subsidizing system are, that a large portion of these Malays still vascillate between the enjoyment of restrained freedom under the British rule with political and social security, and the unrestrained life but occasionally disturbed by invasion and oppression, which they led in their native countries; that the benefits of British rule should long ere this have drawn off a far larger portion than they have done of the population of these countries; that some of these states have occasionally confederated with the Siamese

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(a). Penang ... ... 38,000 Inhabitants
Province Wellesley ... 47,000
Singapore 30,000
Malacca and Narnung 34.329

Total 149.329

The Malayan population of the whole Peninsula exclusive of the British and Siamese possessions may be estimated as follows.

against each other; and that their system of piracy has been directed chiefly against the trade of British posts at the very time they were accusing the British of not supporting them, and when they were humbly sueing for aid from the latter.

Since the Burmese war threw into the British scale the Tenasserim Provinces, and Province Wellesley has been successfully cultivated, the necessity which before existed at Penang of relying on Keddah for supplies of grain and poultry &ca. has entirely vanished, cattle being the only kind of supply not yet raised in these settlements in sufficient number to meet the consumption. The cause of cattle not being bred here at Penang to any great extent is that whatever the feelings of the Siamese may have been cattle have always found their way into Province Wellesley.

Instead then of wasting British capital in giving an undue importance to Malayan Chieftainships the strength of the state is reserved for great emergencies.

Independent of every other consideration the character of [the] Malayan population of the States alluded to is so unstable that nothing certain could be predicated of or built on it. Willingly bending his

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		Inhabitants
1	Perak	30,000
2	Salangore	2,000
3	Johore and its dependencies not including Islands but including Pahang (50,000)	50,000
4	Tringanoo	30,000
5	Calantan Sri Meekims	40,000
	Total	152,000

Malayan States under Siam:—

Patani	70,000	
Keddah	20,000	
	90,000	

I have on revision been induced to assign a somewhat larger population to the Peninsula than that stated in my late dissertation.

neck beneath the yoke of slavery imposed on him by his Liege Lord or Chief, the Malay seems to cringe before any other where a choice remains. But having been trained to servitude he feels it when imposed on him by a foreign nation chiefly, and in so far only, as it insults his clannish principles. It is a curious fact that the Siamese have constantly employed Malays in fighting their battles against Malays, which refinement they effect partly by fear and partly by retaining the families of the levies as hostages for their fidelity.

It seems to have been considered by the Malays, at the first establishment of the British in the Straits, that the latter would as a matter of course shield them against the ambition of Siam, and the delusion has not to this day been quite dispelled, partly owing to [the] silent moral check which the known power of the British has given to the progress southward of the Siamese, and partly to the constant outcry, aided by the press, against the Government for not assisting the Islams against the infidels, forgetting in this war cry, that Christians are included by the intolerant Hadgis and religionists in the anathema against the Kafirs; and that the Hadgis, who form a large portion of the Malayan population in every petty state, have, amongst other acquirements derived from the Haj, imbibed all the repulsive bigotry and intolerance of Islamism without its virtues. It would be satisfactory to have it explained who should open his purse in such a crusade.

Should the Siamese ever become so infatuated as to insult the British nation while in the zenith of its power, the Malays would then be sure allies, and might be made serviceable for all the purposes of *desultory* warfare. Siam is eminently vulnerable by a great naval power like the British. A slight effort in conjunction with the Malays could cut off Lower Siam southward of Chaiya; Keddah, Poonga and Junkceylon

would surrender to small detachments. A force from Tenasserim could penetrate at any one of the passes into the heart of Siam, in which an irregular body of the disaffected, or of emigrant Peguers, might possibly be enrolled, while two men of war with transports, and a steamer with a regiment of troops might at once take possession of the capital.

The following opinion which experience has taught me to entertain of the Siamese character may, if correct, serve as a criterion to a certain extent of the probable conduct of that people under any given circumstances. They are proud, vain, ignorant and vaunting. Justly suspecting their own weakness and therefore constantly trying to conceal it by a shallow show of strength. Less manly in their minds, and in their outward bearing than the Burmese, but compensating for the deficiency by superior cunning. They are more easily alarmed than the Burmese, yet exhibit a bravery, the result chiefly of the terror inspired into them by a barbarous and rigorous discipline, and the force of habit; yet they do not want physical courage in the main. Slaves to their superiors they become, when masters, harsh and cruel to their inferiors. The crouching slave of to-day may become to-morrow the master over thousands, and the most favoured man in power has always before his mental eye, the rack, the sack and the executioner's sword. The Siamese are for an eastern people very national. Indeed the Indo-Chinese nations in general evince a degree of national feeling which it would be in vain to seek for amongst the population of the majority of the states of Hindoostan, and which has kept them distinct from each other. The Burmese and Siamese hate each other most cordially. A reciprocity of hatred also exists betwixt the Siamese and their neighbours the Cambojans and Laos. Cochin China and Siam are now contending for the mastery, and the Chinese are only too distant, and their Emperor

Indo-Chinese Character.

is too well occupied in keeping his turbulent subjects quiet, to admit of China entering the lists against the whole of these nations.

The Siamese are practised dissemblers, and state secrets are rarely disclosed where it does not suit the rulers that they should be so.

In private intercourse with each other the Siamese are hospitable, jovial, joyous and inclined to exaggerrated epithets of regard and sentimentalism. They are not very fond of strangers but treat them politely when not interfered with by Government officers. As enemies, like *all half polished people*, they are ruthless and devastating,—to conquer and to destroy being almost synonymous terms in their war vocabulary, so that a country seldom recovers itself after having been subdued by them. In politics the Siamese are cautious, cool and deliberative; but although sometimes ambitious beyond the bounds of reason, they rarely allow themselves, either while under the immediate excitement of real or supposed wrong, or when nourishing the most deeply rooted hatred or prejudice, to hurry them into sudden, intemperate acts, however ill-judged the result of their councils on the whole may be regarding any given political measure.

But although thus slow to act, yet their perseverance afterwards more than repays in face of an enemy (within the line of Indo-Chinese civilization) the mischief of delay.

It will be apparent from what has been noticed that there are no real grades of Siamese society. Below the degrees of public office all are nearly on an equality, excepting the priesthood, and thus in one of the most arbitrary Governments in the world any one may aspire to the highest offices of the state—that precise condition of things at which democracy aims, only arriving at it through another channel. The literature of the Siamese, which is

from its western origin rather of a refined caste and which is accessible to all—the religion which is based on humane dogmas and is highly retributive—all serve to render the Siamese a nation deserving to be studied.

Later writers on Siam and Keddah.

Since Mr. Anderson wrote his pamphlet on the Malayan Peninsula there have been several anonymous supporters of his arguments who have addressed the public through the Press. With these writers arguments would be useless. But I cannot avoid commenting in this place on two works which have been published respectively by Captain Begbie and Lieut. Newbolt(a).

The partizan like and dogmatical style of the writers, who seem to have come to their task without any personal knowledge of the subject to be discussed, the sneering manner in which the existing British politics are described, and numerous errors in matters of fact which occur in their pages render them very indifferent guides.

Captain Begbie's work is professedly a compilation, and he sets out with a claim to the merit of impartiality in what he himself states(b).

(a). Captain Begbie's Malayan Peninsula.

Lieut. Newbolt's Sketch of Moar &ca. published in the Asiatic Researches, September 1836.

(b). His impartiality he displays by taking solely one side of the question of Straits policy, and Mr. Anderson for his guide in elucidating it. Thus in rapid succession he has these expressions: "The Raja of Ligor is an imperious despot." "Mr. Anderson's lucid argument by which he proves that Keddah was essentially an independent state." "The absurdity is apparent enough of arguing from a peculiar idiomatical Malayan expression meaning no more than a unanimity of feeling, namely that the countries of Keddah and Pulo Penang shall be as one country, that the British were bound at all hazards to fight for Keddah again." "Up to the Treaty of Bangkok Siam *never* claimed Keddah as a Province and the country undoubtedly *never* was Siamese."

It is indeed a mere unmethodical compilation from obsolete works, from Crawfurd's Archipelago, Mr. Anderson's Malayan States and considerations on Keddah Policy, my account of Penang and Province Wellesley and such other works as may have fallen in his way.

So closely has he copied Mr. Anderson's writings that he has not omitted any of his errors. He has also so blended his own remarks with the statements of the authors he has copied from, that a common reader has no chance of being able to discriminate betwixt what is original and what is borrowed. He cannot even be complimented for any attempt at classification.

Lieut. Newbolt chiefly confines himself to an account of the district of Moar and some adjacent places. It may here be remarked that he has copied from Mr. Anderson his description of places on the Malayan Coasts.

"Captain Burney gives up Province Wellesley as an integral portion of Keddah to Siam and consequently declares it not to be a British possession." How could Province Wellesley be an integral portion of Keddah when it had been separated from it for 24 years by a distinct treaty and afterwards by a separate one with special reference to its eastern boundary, and made thereby an integral part of the settlement of Penang. The most that could be predicated of the omission to have Province Wellesly in the 10th article of the Treaty, if omission it was or could be deemed to be, is that the Siamese would be debarred trading with Province Wellesley. But the mooting such a point displays a literal or logical spirit.

The policy of Siam is admired which employed "one of her tributaries, Ligor, to subject Keddah" as if Ligor had not for centuries been, as she now is to all intents and purposes, an integral Siamese province. Such views used to be the stumbling blocks of early navigators. When they happened to touch at an Indo-Chinese port and found the Chief exercising apparently unchecked power, they set him down at once as a Rajah or a King.

It would have saved much writing had all these authors constructed maps, instead of little better than meagre details of names.

The whole of the places described by them already exist in maps and most of them did exist before they wrote (a).

The account of the last revolt in Keddah, when the Wolf and Crocodile were stationed off the mouth of Keddah River, is replete with errors.

The "Malayan fleet" was a few small boats. The "fleet sunk" about 7 piratical Siac boats which were driven off "with damage." "Tuanku Soliman the King's brother, residing on the confines of Province Wellesley, made a demonstration with three thousand men in favour of Kudin."

This force nnmbered 300 men For "from six to ten thousand Malays and Siamese killed in Keddah" read 2217.

Captain Begbie's account of the Nannung War and its causes is rather tedious, but I believe faithful. He had recourse for the latter to the records supplied by Mr Ibbetson.

The summary of the population of Johore and other piratical states and islands is loosely given and probably overstated.

(a) Map presented by the writer to the Court of Directors in 1822.

NOTE.

The genealogies of Petty Chiefs and Panghulus cannot excite any interest in the general reader, and which occupy so large a portion of the work, excepting perhaps that of the Johore State only which might have been given, if at all, in a tabular form in a note.

Captain Begbie's book might have been with equal advantage to himself and his readers reduced to one third of its present dimensions. He has pressed into his service accounts centuries old, along with recent ones, yet has contrived so to jumble them together that nothing satisfactory can be obtained, except here and there a few well authenticated facts, which have been before known.

He in reality describes rather how things *were* than how they *are*, leaving us to guess if the condition of the countries described is not applicable to a period of two centuries back instead of applying to the present day. Had he trusted more to himself, and been more brief and methodical his work would have been much more useful than it now is.

Lieut. Newbolt observes: "Quedah, Ligor, Patani, Merdilo (Daloong), Junkceylon are considered in the treaty concluded by Major Burney with Siam in 1826 as Provinces of that Empire, a concession to that arrogant power scarcely just or polite." Now Lieut. Newbolt should have known that the whole of these Provinces belong as much of right to Siam as Ireland or Singapore does to the British, and that therefore the supposed concession is absurd. Under the same delusion he proceeds to say that the rightful Raja of Patani is a prisoner in Siam, when everybody knows that Patani never had a Rajah, but it has, ever since it was under a *female* Government, centuries ago, been divided amongst petty chiefs subordinate to Siam, and *its* subjects. The Ex Rajah of Keddah has not "gone

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NOTE.

It is high time that writers on Indo-Chinese countries should abandon the ambiguous and proteous like terms commonly employed to impress the reader with ideas which many of these writers themselves are too indolent to elucidate by a diligent analysis of established customs, of feelings and of the peculiar moral and physical influences acting through a long course of ages.

It is easy, in order to account for unlooked for energy of Government or apparent weakness, to ring unmeaning changes on such terms as civilization and barbarism, and despotism, ignorance, slavery, superstition, bigotry, intolerance, demoralization, and many others applicable in a thousand ways, and conveying no definite meaning. But it is not so easy to describe laws and institutions, whether written or merely sanctioned, or felt, and recognised by long use, the secret springs of action resting on or arising from traditional feelings, habits and customs; the contempt fostered for their* nations, or the national pride which is ever strongest amongst people the least civilized, and which is a stronger bond of union there, than amongst people further advanced, the quality which the Eastern dispositions give birth to thus ending in the same result, so far, as a democracy does, having power as a bait, to all the pomp of ceremonies gilding the most galling yoke; the influence of popular feeling and character on the governing, and the toleration of the latter to the governed; the social accessories observable in the rudest states of humanity; the social compacts existing independent of any governing power, and the true extent and influence of the professed religion,

*sic.) ? other

to Delhi" and he has not "many friends there." It would require no less than British co-operation to persuade "the whole of the Malayan States to take up arms against their haughty oppressor the Siamese," instead of little persuasion to do so as he states, being a consummation which however it may suit the aspirations of the pugnaciously disposed, Mr. Newbolt will not [be] likely [to] see realized. Mr. Newbolt is a strenuous advocate for the direct interference of the British in supressing the feuds of the Native Chiefs and for assuming a preponderating attitude in the midst of them.

General Political Reflections.

Our moral preponderance is sufficiently established already, and if the Malays, at the extremity of the Peninsula, seek British arbitration they will probably receive it if it can be afforded under a practicable form.

The balance of power amongst the Indo-Chinese nations is not maintained, as in Europe, by the force of opinion and international laws. Nature in her physical or material capacity holds the scales.

NOTE.

whether glazing over the surface of life, or deeply sinking into and enthralling the reason and imagination.

No nation ever existed, despotic or otherwise, which did not improve in the course of ages on the original social groundwork, slow in some instances, quick in others, but still progressive to the point where decay commenced. The inevitable social institutions of India is an expression to be received with caution. However slow the progress, do not facts show that the Indian mind is not what it was in the days of Alexander or Auringzebe. There is an under mental current in life which flows on so noiselessly that even those within its influence are hardly aware of its effects; feelings, nay opinions, occupy unbetrayed the conscious minds of millions for centuries, until the slow work of reason is ripe, when touched suddenly by the electric force of some master spirit, the whole expands into a new existence, the old shell of prejudice and of error being cast off without an effort. There is no such thing in nature as a sudden and perfect

Mountains and deserts are the only obstacles to national aggrandizement amongst nations all thirsty for supremacy. Cochin China presses on Camboja and Siam and but for such obstacles would probably ere this have swallowed up the nearest one of these; and unless the power of the Chinese shall be interposed may yet absorb that country. Siam bears hard on the Laos race, and has in its turn probably alone been saved from ultimate subjection to Ava by the ranges of mountains and the jungles which separate the two countries. Siam and Ava are perhaps alone prevented by the powerful arm of the British from being in perpetual collision.

But all these natural obstacles may at some future time give way before some dominant power. The Chinese are already stretching away behind these secondary states and rolling on the scattered tribes of Shans and others to the British frontier; and unwar-

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NOTE.

change in morals, politics and religion. Has Christianity modelled all its votaries by one invariable mental or social scale? Has it even greatly changed the habits it found existing? What dissimilar nations profess Islamism. Habits and feeling, however originally strong, are in the long run, more likely to react on religion and politics than the latter are on the former.

There is as wide a difference betwixt the political and social relations of what are classed as barbarous and despotic Eastern Kingdoms as there is betwixt the wildest despotism of the East and the patriarchal and enlightened yet absolute rule of Russia.

Talk to a Burmese of his being a slave and he will tell you that he is one of the warrior nation which gave birth to an Alompra, the conqueror of Pegu. Tell a Siamese that he is a mere tool and abject drudge of his prince. He will answer that Siam is the circuit of the gods, the country chosen of Buddha, the great, the incomparable region of Ayodia, the region coveted by every neighbouring country.

Tell a Malay that his Chief is his Demi-God, however imperative and cruel he may be. He will reply that it is the custom of Malays to honor their Chief and obey them under all circumstances or as the Malayan

like as China is believed to be her very numbers would render opposition to her systematic approach by any *Indo-Chinese people* quite impossible. China has also a marine—at least means for transporting an army by sea to Siam or to Rangoon. Could solid improvement in navigation, architecture, in military tactics and commercial policy gain a footing in China, it would be impossible to assign limits to her empire. The drain which would ensue when she should begin to throw off colonies would still further stimulate the principle of population until at least the Chinese race had filled all the space betwixt China and Hindoostan and until perhaps it had come into direct collision with these western regions.

Compared with any one of the Chief former or old Governments of Hindoostan, the Indo-Chinese nations must lose not only on the score of Physical resources and strength, but of moral and social and commercial capabilities.

China must rank at least above the very best native Indian Governments and nations which have existed since the palmy days of the Mogul Emperors.

NOTE.

(a) Malayan Annals.

Raja Tuam Bijata(a) observed when in the power of a man whose wife he had dishonoured "He is a true Malay and will do no treason to his Lord", that it is further their duty to resignedly accept his death at his hand and at his will, and that in compensation for all this he is free to follow his own inclinations to rove as a pirate, gamble away his wife and children, stake his enemies and plant paddie wherever he pleases. Say to the Chinese that he is the serf, the football of his Emperor and Mandarins, and he will answer that he is a son of the Celestial Empire, and that all the unheaven born barbarous eyes of other countries are Fangui or Foreign Devils, beneath his notice.

Pride is the instinct given to nations for self preservation and a gift of heaven to make the human race, under every condition, content with its position, until its day of enlightenment shall arrive. A slighter feeling would not support them.

while the Indo-Chinese States can scarcely be placed higher than as third or at least second rate in the scale.

The people of India within the Ganges have from distant times been holding intercourse with or been smarting under the swords of the hardier races of the West, and have learned to estimate their real rank in the list of nations with some degree of precision. On the contrary (with one late exception, the effect of the Burmese war) the Indo-Chinese people have been all but secluded from intercourse with these more energetic races, and even from the more warlike (as regards them) races of India. Their knowledge of the European character has been chiefly derived from casual intercourse with scattered traders to their ports, who being in their power and depending for success on holding up the palm branch under every kind of usage, have been but weak supporters of national honour.

Education being, amongst the Indo-Chinese people, confined to reading writing, and casting accounts, hardly excepting from this statement the priests of Buddha, and there being no popular works in the various departments of art and science, it follows that no subject conceives it either expedient or advantageous to learn how he is governed. The governing party stretches despotism as far as he finds it can be carried without endangering his own position, while he feels quite unchecked by any restraint such as that which in European countries arises from the necessity of consulting a standard, however fluctuating that may be, of political morality.

A European power, when allied by treaty with an Indo-Chinese one, however justly reciprocal the terms of that treaty may seem, must yet be deemed to come under serious disadvantages in the intercourse which will ensue. The first enjoys only the advantages which are open and specified, the other will be apt to look upon it as merely giving him opportunity of

husbanding his strength until it shall come into play with every chance of success. A breach of treaty in the one would be felt as a national stigma and would reverberate throughout the civilized world. The same offence in the other would be looked on by the individual Government and its people as a master move of over reaching policy, would be applauded by neighbouring nations, and would probably in the civilized world be attributed to insidious conduct on the part of the other contracting party; and where is an international empire to be sought for.

The native Government builds all its hope of advantage, whether these are to be peaceable and mercantile, or warlike and aggressive, in the known good faith of its ally, while that ally finds his greatest political virtues to be his most serious obstacles to self defence. His opponent goes on from step to step, warily avoiding to infringe on what is absolutely prohibited, while *he* must wait patiently for some positive infraction of terms before he can oppose force to force or intimidation to ambition or treachery. He may be as certain that this opponent will use to the utmost, either secretly or openly, any power he may have, when time shall prove, as that might, since the world began, has ever been right, when kindred nations have not compacted to modify that great law of nature, and to balance its energy when brought to bear on their artificial state. Dominion is nature's watchword throughout all the gradations of existence up to man, and this last, while he domineers unchecked but by physical danger (to be avoided generally with ease) over the inferior creation, is stimulated by the same natural impulse where superior moral, mental and physical energies, combined with accidental situations will admit, to exert dominion over his fellows. Nature has given the latter too the impulse of resistance, but this can never equal in energy the dominant principle, because each individual of the resisting mass feels that

his own mind is deeply imbued with it, and that the struggle ever must be for might—the question ever, who shall obey. It is this feeling which makes excess of liberty speedily end in arbitrary rule. Had the British not succeeded in Ava this last question might, and no doubt would have arisen amongst the Indo-Chinese, but first another would have a chance of agitating the two principal ones, Ava and Siam, whether they should not join against the British. At any rate had Siam wished for peace with Ava, she must have, in such an event, avoided a friendly alliance with the British, and what a great loss of moral power would failure have entailed. Aurungzebe's power sustained a shock from his failure to subdue Arracan and Assam, but the mightier the power the severer the political and moral declension, the greater the dangers attending on both. British prowess is already embodied in song throughout the widely scattered tribes of Indo-China, and pregnant perhaps in this garb with future events. The pillar of national vanity having amongst them been shaken to the foundation, new props may happily be sought for from more enlightened quarters.

A high road, if report speaks true, will ere long be opened from the confines of India extra Gangem to China, and by the Chinese themselves. Already Burmah deigns to bestow to the whole, whisperings of a milder condition of humanity(a).

Siam has a pretty extensive commerce with Europeans, and with access to the products of European labour may gradually imbibe a taste for improved science and art, and China in the centre of her vast and transmitted population has mani-

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(a). Since the above was written the Burmese seem to have forgotten some of the lessons so well taught them.

fested occasional throes which would tempt us to anticipate improvement there. The last war has no doubt already enlightened the Burmese to a certain extent. It has exhibited for their imitation civilized warfare, which fights only with the Government of an enemy and ravages not the fields nor sacks the houses of the peaceful subject. It has shown to them good faith in the conqueror's humanity in battle, and generosity after victory.

The Siamese, whether wisely or through fear it matters not, standing aloof from the field of battle, have maintained intact their extensive country, and have gained strength in proportion as the British have been successful. They have gained knowledge too without dear bought experience and they profit by it.

The contest with Ava has dispelled the mirage which prevailed on the geography of that and the neighbouring countries and has opened doors to the resources of the Indo-Chinese(a) States.

And are Britons, strong as they may be in arms, to disdain the lessons which even a barbarous warfare is capable of giving. Had such vague descriptions of the want of spirit and contemptible capabilities which we find alleged by old writers against the Burmese been credited to the fullest extent, a severe lesson might have been read to the British Generals not to despise an enemy, however unworthy of his steel that foe may seem. And a warlike nation could not be contemptible when it required such a large force during two campaigns

(a). In my report on the Tenasserim Provinces at the close of the Burman war I had occasion to mention the caravans, one of which I saw from the Shan country. This prospect held out of intercourse being established with the interior countries has not been fully realized.

of some of the best disciplined troops in the world to teach her the wisdom of submission.

High and inborn courage may be wanting in an enemy but a rigorous despotism, such as that displayed in a time of war by Ava, renders cowardice more dangerous to its entertainers than the exposing of his person in battle. To fly is certain death from his Commander in the rear, to advance is having a chance of surviving and of escaping in a general rout. Then again, nature interposes for him, betwixt him and the sterner enemy, her tangled shield of forests, rivers and hills, to level artificial distinctions.

Had Ava lost Pegu her whole body politic would have been permanently paralyzed. They did not become a nation of any note until Alompra opened a passage for her to the sea and to the commerce of the world. Like the Siamese race, she felt her insignificance until that was accomplished. She has indeed lost a few of her outfeelers, but this perhaps has only concentrated her strength.

If the Siamese could ever have made, or shall ever have the power to make, a successful aggression on the power of the Burmese, it would have been, and probably will be, by setting up a Peguan Prince and ruling in his name over Pegu at last. They have always kept a large body of Peguers at Siam, and while the Ava war yet pended the Court of Bangkok had recognised the claims (real or pretended it is useless to enquire) of a Peguer to the throne of Bagoo or Pegu, intending to have set him up had their troops got a footing in the Burmese territory. They had luckily no opportunity of intermeddling and of thereby establishing claims for a share not only in the ceded territories but in the glory of the campaigns; and no doubt they would have assumed the right to the largest share of the latter whether granted or not. Their cupidity and caution, mere ignorance, being

carried too far, defeated all the grand schemes which they meditated.

However favourably the generosity which gave up Pegu for less valuable provinces may be received by European nations, it cannot be doubted that its retention would have been looked on by the Indo-Chinese people as a thing of course, and as a procedure no more betraying an uncalled for thirst for acquisition than the retention of the Coast Provinces does. It would seem a stretch of the reasoning faculty could these nations appreciate such magnanimity or believe that the power which had grasped an Empire had willingly, after a sacrifice of blood and treasure, relinquished its hold.

But should either of the two Indo-Chinese powers lying closest to the British possessions ever act so as to make it necessary to assail their sea ports, the terminations generally of the vital arteries of these fluvial countries, such posts would naturally and readily, if subdued and retained, connect themselves with those great mercantile zones with which the enterprize of the British nation has already nearly girded the world, and which add elasticity and stability to its rule.

Siam may not exactly perceive that with reference to the native powers that were or that now exist in Hindoostan she hardly merits being placed in the 2d grade, or that amidst the Indo-Chinese her military pretensions do not rank above those of her native neighbours. Indeed it may be questioned if they do not fall short of those advanced by the Burmese, since the latter nation has on more than one occasion overrun Siam, whilst the Siamese have rarely, since they lost Tenasserim, ventured beyond a strict border warfare. But Siam cannot fail through the veil of her self-love and the mist of her prejudices to see that it would be aiming a mortal blow at her independence were the British ever

to find it necessary for their security to support and aid both, or one only of the nations alluded to, namely the Burmese and Cochin-Chinese.

Her fears on the side of Ava are for the present in abeyance, but she has on several occasions manifested considerable uneasiness and suspicions regarding the visits of the Cochin-Chinese vessels to Calcutta, Penang and Singapore. About the time of the breaking out of the Burmese war several Cochin-Chinese Ambassadors to Ava visited Penang, and from the minute enquiries which they made about Junkceylon it was conjectured that their Government then entertained some design against it. They might easily take it by a coup de main. They have armed war square rigged vessels and are better sailors than the Siamese, who in reality are no sailors; but that they could afford to retain it is very doubtful unless they were masters also of the Siamese ports on the east coast of the Peninsula. Instructed as the Cochin Chinese have been by the French in European military tactics, at least to that extent to which their prejudices would permit them to go, it does not however appear that they have exhibited much improvement in their actual movements in the field.

Had any commensurate improvement really been made, Siam would have long since felt fatally the effects of it. It is only surprising that nautically superior as the Cochin Chinese are to the Siamese, and with a population greatly, it is believed, exceeding that of the latter, the former nation has never invaded Lower Siam.

Here, if the Rajah of Ligor did not think it his interest to join them, they would find all the conquered Malayan States ready to embrace their cause, were such an attempt to prove successful and which considering the almost constant state of hostility in which these rival countries have been involved, is

neither improbable nor impracticable. The British in the Straits of Malacca would then come into immediate contact with a nation of a more bustling and energetic character than the Siamese and certainly with one which in the mass stands several steps higher on the ladder of civilisation than the latter have yet reached.

The Rajah of Ligor.

It has ever seemed to me that the Chau Phriya or Siamese Governor of Ligor, who is by courtesy designated Raja, would be glad of an opportunity of shaking off his fetters and asserting independence. The Court of Siam has evidently tried to guard against such a contingency by retaining about it a number of Chau Phriya's relatives, and by keeping spies in the shape of councillors about his person. His four daughters were give to the Zennana of his king; one of his sons is Governor of Keddah and another of Daloong(a).

It is not improbable that a party to the Treaty of Bankok he had hoped that a war with the British would have facilitated his views.

At present he might well pause before joining the Cochin-Chinese in case they should invade Lower Siam, since it would likely be only changing one hard master for an equally hard one, perchance a harder. The Chau Phriya is a very clever barbarian, a Mahomed Ali in a small way, of persevering and unremitting habits of business and therefore never pardoning remissness in others—a consummate dissembler but apt to defeat his own purposes by carrying dissimulation too far; of a most inquisitive disposition, and appreciating perhaps beyond any of his countrymen the advantages of European science and art, yet restrained by

(a). 1841. The Raja has died since the above was written and the jealousy of the Court of Bankok will hedge in his successor so that he will be a mere executive officer.

by political trammels from following out the bent of his mind; cautious in his councils, decided in his military operations, and brave agreeably to the Indo-Chinese acceptation of that term, although wary in not exposing his person in battle; a most severe disciplinarian and relentless punisher.

To aid these qualities he possesses a very robust constitution. When the Honble. Mr. Ibbetson visited his camp in Keddah in 1831 an opportunity was given to me of judging his capacity.

He was in his Burbar or Sala the whole day and seldom retired to rest until past midnight, being chiefly engaged in dictating to his secretaries, few of whom could long support the constant labour they were subjected to. His conversation was easy, animated and jocular though abrupt, and he displayed a very capacious memory.

When the Chow Phriya dies or is deprived of his Government (terms almost synonymous in Siam) (a), it is highly improbable that any man of equal ability and determination will be found who may succeed him. None of his many sons evince more than very ordinary abilities, although they have all the cunning which the semi barbarians substitute for sound judgment. They are amenable to the rod of correction like the other subjects of Siam and it is inflicted in no very decorous manner(b). One of his sons, a youth of upwards of 20, was smarting under the effects of this domestic punishment when Mr. Ibbetson visited the Raja's camp, as before noticed. He is now governing the Province of Daloong. Can any true feelings of

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(a) This has actually happened since the above was written. The Phriya was called to Bankok to give an account of his government, was there detained two years or longer, when he died from vexation of mind, it is said. Perhaps there were other causes (1841).

(b). The nether extremity.

manhood have place when such a punishment is inflicted on the élite of the land. It is however pretended by the sufferers that there is no disgrace attached to a sound whipping. So may the chosen of the land in some European countries have said of this sort of patriarchal correction. The care which the Chau Phriya took to conceal from us the punishment his son had received by his orders disproves the assertion. The secret of the Chau Phriya's aptitude for business and decision of character, may perhaps be in his being the son of the famous Chinese usurper of Siam, Phriya Tak. When the latter was slain his widow, a Siamese, who was then pregnant, was given to the then Governor of Ligor, and on the death of the latter the Chau Phriya succeeded to the Government.

It is not easy to discover what revenue he pays to the Siamese Exchequer. It is not fixed. But independent of the boats which he is constantly building and sending to Siam he occasionally transmits considerable sums in cash and plate. To make the latter, which is chiefly of silver and finished with gold flowerings, he retains a large establishment of goldsmiths constantly in his service. The manufacture is called Chartan and does credit to the Siamese workmen.

Chapter 3rd.

Srai / Sai or Keddah.

This Province of Siam lies between the parallels of 5.10 and 6.35 N. L. Its breadth varies from twenty five to forty miles. It was originally peopled by the Siamese race, and was then as it now is termed by them Muang Sai or Srai. About the year A. D. 1342 (a) a colony arrived from the westward under a

(a). I have fixed this date after comparing together the Keddah, the Achinese and Malayan Annals.
The Keddah Annals will be translated perhaps hereafter by me.

Chief named Marrong Maha Wangsa. The Keddah Annals point out Room as the country from which he came, implying thereby some part of the Byzantine Empire, and the object of the voyage is stated to have been the forming of a matrimonial alliance betwixt the son of the Rajah of Room and a daughter of the Emperor of China. But the name of the Chief is evidently a Hindoo or Buddhist one, and as he was an idol-worshipper too, it will be more consistent with probability if we assign Ceylon or some part of Hindoostan as his birth place (a). The Mussulman Annalist intentionally perhaps confounded the leader of this colony with the ambassador sent (b) about A. D. 1290 by the King of Persia to China to solicit from the Emperor Kublai a Princess as a wife.

Be this as it may the Keddah Annalist has minutely described the voyage from Room and the destruction on the Eastern Coasts of the Bay of Bengal of all the vessels excepting one which composed the fleet. In Marco Polo's account of the Persian Embassy just alluded to no such disaster is mentioned.

Keddah History.

I First Chief.

Marrong Maha Wangsa reached Pulo Srai in the vessel which escaped, which last was moored near the Point of Pulo Srai. He then went on shore with his wife and family(c), and built a small town which "was secured by a wall and other defences. He called the town Lancasuga"(d).

This Pulo Srai (or the Island Srai) is afterwards described by the annalist as having many years subsequently to the settlement "become attached to the

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(a). Mahawansa is one of the titles of some early Rajahs in Ceylon, and also of a Ceylonese Historical work.

(b). Marco Polo.

(c) It is not likely that any one but a colonist would have brought his family with him.

(d). This term is purely of Hindoo origin.

mainland" and having then received the name of Goonong Jerrie or the Keddah Peak, a conspicuous mountain, and the present appearance of the country surrounding it confirms the above account.

When Marrong Maha Wangsa had established himself on shore many of the Rakhshas came down to visit him.

These were the aborigines of the country of the Siamese race, to whom their more polished visitors applied a term implying contempt. But by the annalist's own showing those Rakhshas were sufficiently civilised to amalgamate in some degree with the new colonists. That these aborigines were Siamese is proved, as I have before observed, by their names, and by the fact that their descendants under the denomination of Samsams are found in considerable numbers at the present day in Keddah and Province Wellesley. These people speak the Siamese language and adhere to the religion and customs of Siam. As Marrong Maha Wangsa was a follower of some Hindoo system of worship and the Siamese were Buddhists, the former could have had little difficulty in conciliating the natives, and he no doubt obtained permission from the Chief "of the Rakhsha" as the annalist calls him, to form a settlement in this part of the Siamese Empire.

My own researches in Province Wellesley elucidate these remarks, for amidst the ruins of the ancient temples there I have discovered in juxtaposition (in one and the same temple) various images of some of the principal Hindoo deities and of Buddha and also writings and inscriptions in the Sanscrit and the Siamese languages, and one in an obsolete character supposed to be Pali or Bali (a).

(a) A facsimile of this inscription was forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the late lamented Mr. Prinsep, its secretary, acquainted me shortly before

It is obvious that the new settlers must have been too few to have occupied the Srai country. Even had the inhabitants been unable to expel them, the then flourishing adjacent Siamese Province of Ligor could have easily afforded the means for so doing.

Marrong Maha Wangsa established a trade with the countries of Achi and Pulo Percha (Achin) and Golungee (Pegu) (a) and his port became soon a great trading mart. "In process of time," the annalist proceeds to state, the Sultan of Room recalled Maha Wangsa, of whose existence he had been [made] aware by the commander of one of his vessels who had met with one of the Marrongs at Pegu. The Srai Chief therefore returned home, leaving in his room a son who married a princess. It does not appear who this lady was, although it is probable she was either a Siamese or a Peguer, as these natives were Buddhists. The new Chief assumed the title of Raja Marrong Maha Bodisat. Marrong Maha Wangsa took with him his old followers, but the children of the latter remained behind. "Before his departure he assembled all the principal people who had arrived with him, and it was there resolved that the Country of Srai should be thence forward called *Keddah*, meaning thereby Zameen Soram, because it had been settled after many difficulties and dangers had been surmounted."

II. The Second Raja.

As this new name is of Persian or Arabic derivation it is most likely that it was bestowed when Marrong's descendants became Mussulmans than at the period here stated. Raja Photeesat (b) had three

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his death, that he had he thought succeeded in deciphering it, and that it was in an almost obsolete character formerly used in Upper Hindoostani.

(a) In the country itself the natives call it Bagoo. The Siamese term it Hangsawaddy – the goose or Hangsa Country.

(b) Bodhi Satma.

sons and a daughter born to him at Pulo Srai. When they grew up the Raja determined to fulfil the desire of his father that he should form establishments in the neighbouring regions, which last were then in a wild condition. He accordingly sent for Phrai Cheehan, the Chief of the Rakhshas. This man was the son of a Malay (a). He had a son named Parap, whose mother was a Rakhsha. This lady was named Nang Soothamune (b).

Photisat's eldest son journeyed towards the northward, (c) accompanied by the family just mentioned and many Malayan followers with their attendants.

After a journey of two hundred days by easy stages, and with numerous halts, the party reached the mouth of a fine river which flowed through a rich country. The young chief here established himself and his followers. This country is named Siam Lanchang(d).

The Raja's second son went in a southerly direction until he came to a river which fell into the sea. This country was named Neegri Perak or the silver country, because, according to custom, a silver arrow had previously been shot in the direction of the river.

Finally the Raja sent forth his daughter in quest

(a). The annalist does not condescend to inform us who the Malays were, or whence they came. Cheehan was doubtless the son of a native with an individual of another tribe, whether Malayan or otherwise.

(b). These are partly Siamese and partly Bali names.

(c). It is "north-west" in the MS. but as the sea lies in this direction there is probably a clerical error.

(d). Lanchang lies in South Laos, a very improbable direction for such a colony to take. But the word Siam being prefixed it would seem to indicate that this place was somewhere in Siam, and indeed in subsequent parts of the annals the Colony is expressly declared to have been established in "Nigri tiga huah." The country is composed of three divisions or Siam Upper, Central and Lower, while it is also expressly stated that the elder brother alluded to was King of Siam.

of a new country. She journeyed with numerous followers, and over mountains and plains towards the east. She rode on an elephant, the name of which was Lella Joharee. At length the colony reached the sea shore(a) and a fort was constructed at the embouchure of the river. Four of the Keddah chiefs had escorted the princess. They remained with her during a few years and before they returned to Keddah the newly settled country was called Patani, with reference to the famous Lela Masari Kris which the princess had brought with her (as an heirloom) (b).

Raja Photesat became old, and left the administration of affairs to his Chiefs, he busying himself with field sports. When he died his third son acquainted his brothers and sister of the event. He then took the title of Sri Mahawangsa.

III
Third Chief.

Soon after this assumption he changed the seat of the government from Lankasuga to Srokame (c). The Raja had one only daughter by a Malayan woman of rank. About the time of this removal to Srokam the Raja received a letter from Siam intimating that his elder brother, the King of that country, had a son whose age was seven years. Accompanying the letter were valuable gifts. Sri Mahawangsa replied to this letter and sent it by a special messenger, who conveyed likewise presents of gold and silver flowers and ornamented arms for his brother. "The King of Siam was much gratified with these presents and requested through the messenger, that similar gifts

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(a). The Gulf of Siam.

(b). The inference here is obscure.

(c). This place lies on the N. bank of the Muda river, and there are still the remains of an extensive fortification to be seen there. Part of the former district of Srokam lies within Province Wellesley on the opposite bank of the river and the name is still retained.

might be annually sent (a) to amuse his children. The messenger also preferred a request of his master that the King of Siam would protect Keddah from danger." To this his Majesty replied that as far as regarded amicable relations Siam and Keddah were one country (b). When the messenger returned to Keddah Sri Mahawangsa ordained that in all future time the relations existing with Siam should be upheld.

The son of Sri Mahawangsa became enamoured of the daughter of Nang Maree, a Rahksha, who was an inmate of the palace. The girl had a fair complexion and lovely features (c). The youth married her without the knowledge of his father, who soon after died of vexation at the event, and of old age combined.

IV Fourth Chief. Sri Mahawangsa was succeeded by the son above alluded to, who took the title of Rajah Wong Maha Phrit Dooriya. This Chief became tyrannical—as the annalist observes, a cannibal. His subjects used on this account to prefer their complaints to his second wife, who was the daughter of a Malay and of a benevolent disposition.

This Chief was known to his subjects, as he now is to the natives of Keddah and Province Wellesley, by the sobriquet of Raja Borsiyong, the tusked Raja, because some of his teeth were so long that they

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(a). This claiming of tribute and marks of vassalage has been smoothed down by the Mussulman annalist as much as possible, and this is rendered more apparent by the puerile reason here assigned for sending the annual revenue or compensation to Court

(b). This is quite a Malayan expression and may mean much or nothing according to circumstances. Here the context shows that it did mean a great deal, and more even is admitted than might have been expected from a Mussulman author.

(c). Here the superiority in point of fairness of the skin of the generality of the Indo-Chinese people over other nations of India is admitted. The Chief no doubt wished a bright alliance for his daughter.

resembled the tusks of, or as the Malays believed, really belonged to a Girgassee(a). At length the tyranny of this at the least moral monster became so intolerable that he was expelled from Keddah by the people.

The Chief men were, after this proceeding, at a loss how to act. They accordingly sent to the King of Siam to acquaint him with the state of affairs(b). His Majesty subsequently dispatched one of his courtiers named Kalahom, who ruled the Provinces to the eastward(c) to Keddah to place the government in the hands of a son of Raja Bersiyong. Kalahom was interrupted in his progress near the confines of Ligor by an army of the whole tribes inhabiting the surrounding countries. This place was commanded by Kalam Hetam, who informed Kalahom that the Kalanga people would not obey the Southern region (Siam) and that the Kalama A. was on his march to take possession of Keddah (d). Kalahom, by the aid of the forces of Ligor and of those of five or six other provinces, defeated the troops of Kalama Hetam, took the latter prisoner and sent him to Siam. He then

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(a) The Girgassee is the Rakhshee of Hindoo mythology.

(b). It is clear from this that the direct interference of Siam as superior over Keddah had been freely exercised before the period we are arrived at.

(c). It is not clear whether the annalist here means the Provinces eastward of the Siamese capital or of Keddah. But as he elsewhere states "Kalahom speedily obtained assistance from all the Rajas around the country where he had his camp," it is evident that the Provinces alluded to lay on the Gulf of Siam, and on the Peninsula. Kalama Hetam came from near the country of Kalungee or Pegu. The Peguers had thus declared war against Siam and although the people of Keddah had kept up a friendly intercourse with Pegu, still it became one of the first objects of attack as a conveniently out-lying Province of Siam.

(d). The inference is plain from the speech of Kalama Hetam that the Kalungee people considered Keddah to be part of Siam. The text also shows that the Peninsula was in Siamese possession.

pursued his march with one thousand men to Keddah. He lost three or four hundred men in battle, the enemy many thousands. It may be observed here that the annalist makes no mention of firearms. Bombs were the principal weapons used in the fight. Indeed it appears from the Malayan annals that when the Portuguese took Malacca the natives were ignorant of the application of gunpowder to war and this was about 150 years later than the period here described.

When Kalahom reached Sungei Sala(a) he encamped at its mouth and then required the young chief and his followers to come and visit him and partake of field sports.

It happened that the youth was just then engaged in digging the channel called Sungei Qualla Muda, in order to form a direct communication betwixt Kota Aur and the sea. This Kota Aur (Bamboo Fort from the prevalence here of Bamboos) was Raja Bersiyong's Fort and before the channel was cut the river is described as having winded in a very inconvenient manner for navigation(b).

" The young Chief and his followers were received by Kalahom outside of the camp of the latter with all due respect. The letter of the King of Siam was then read (and agreeably to it) proclamation was made

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There is a good deal of jumbling of names and titles in the description of the Chiefs of the Forces and tribes here opposed to Kalahom But the majority are of the Buddhist or Siamese origin. The rest were wild tribes nnder the designations of Samang, Bila and Sakai.

(a). A small stream near Keddah.

(b). The correctness of this account is amply verified by the present aspect of this new channel, and the remains of the old one. The Muda River bounds Province Wellesley on the north. Kota Aur can still be traced by the remains of a mud wall.

V
Fifth Chief

that the King had exalted the young Raja (a) to the Government of Keddah and had conferred on him the dignified title of Raja Phraong Maha Photisat."

Kalahom resided five months in Keddah, and then left it on his return to Siam. "He carried with him a letter from the Raja together with gold and silver flowers in acknowledgment that the Maha Raja Nagree Siam had installed him in the government of Keddah. The Raja also observed in his letter to the Emperor that he had sent presents for his Brother the young Prince. After this period the King of Siam never omitted to send yearly to Keddah for, nor the Keddah Rajah to return gold and silver flowers as tokens of friendship." (b).

The annalist observes in this place that in those days trade had increased in the Port of Srai, and that many strangers had settled there. The Fort of Kota Aur was given over as a residence to one of his Chiefs and the Raja built a new Fort at Soongee Didd up at the old mouth of the Muda River (c).

The Rajah had a son named Phra Ong Maha-wangsa, to whom he made over his Government. The Raja's advanced age urged him to this measure (d).

(a). Raja was a title d'étiquette which every petty chief assumed amongst his own people.

(b). If the annals did not afford other positive proof of the fact still this admission of the Mussulman historian would have given good cause for inference that the relation in which Keddah stood to Siam was far more complete and close than he has represented it. It is only to be admired that the admission was made at all in the annals.

(c). Traces of it yet remain and the country round bears marks of having been densely peopled and of having been covered with Hindoo and Buddhist temples.

(d). The Siamese consent is not mentioned, but must be supposed to have been obtained.

VI Sixth Chief

Phra Ong Maha Wangsa was the first Keddah Raja who was converted to Islamism. "He was in the habit of drinking ardent spirits to excess to cure some disease with which he was afflicted (a). Jars of spirit distilled from rice stood always ready in the Palace. When he arose in the morning, even before he had washed his face or eaten betel he used to call for a cup of spirits. But neither this habit nor the pleasures of the table, which he took freely along with his Chiefs, ever led him to become inebriated, and unconscious of what was passing around him. Phra Ong Maha Wangsa was converted to the true faith by a celebrated theologian named Sheik Abdullah, who arrived from Bagdad."

The annalist assigns no date to this event, indeed the MS. is very deficient in dates. But in my copy of the Achinese annals, written in the Malayan language, the time of Sheik Abdullah's visit to Keddah is stated to have been A. Hegira 879 or A. D. 1464 (b).

The Keddah annalist, unlike the more explicit Achinese one, tries to give a dignity to this event by getting up a miracle to account for it. Abdullah by his account was invisible on his arrival and the arch enemy Ibles was his companion and tempter on the occasion. "On Abdullah becoming visible Ibles vanished and he enquired of the Raja if he had ever heard of Islamism, which had descended from God to Mahomed. The Raja replied that he was an image worshipper but he would be glad to be instructed".

"The first sign of the Rajah's conversion (c) was the order he gave to break all the spirit jars. Then he directed that his people should burn and destroy all

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(a) The Mussulman excuse when he runs counter to the Koran.

(b) The Chief or Raja was contemporary with Sultan Mahomed of Malacca.

(c). This conversion, however, was incomplete, and was not perfected until 148 years afterwards.

the golden, silver and brazen images, as also those made of pottery, with all their robes and decorations. This was accordingly done. The Raja now assumed the title of Sultan Ma Alum Shah (a).

The annalist now confines his account to a meagre list of the names of the Rajahs who he states followed for a while the new convert in regular succession. It is probable that the history of their lives may have existed in Keddah and may have been lost during the disturbances there. The remaining Chiefs or Rajahs were:—

2. Sultan Ma Biffool Shah, son of the Alim Shah—after him the descent was regular to(b)
3. Sultan or Raja Mahmood Shah.
4. Sultan Muzzuffar Shah.
5. Sultan Soliman Shah who died at Achin.
6. Sultan Raja Looden Shah of Nuza where he died.
7. His son Sultan Mahiyedin Mansur Shah who died at Sinna.
8. Sultan Lea Oodin Makurrum Shah who died at Purlis.
9. Sultan or Raja Kannali or Kahali governed a few days.
10. Sultan Ata Allah Mahomed Shah or Murhom Bukit Penang.
11. Sultan Mahomed Jiva Zein Aladin Ma Alum Shah who died at Kayang.
12. Sultan Abdullah Mokurrum Shah or Murkoom Muda Bukit Pinang, A.D. 1778.
13. Sultan Abdullah (brother to the preceding Raja.) He held the Regency for a short time.

(a). Every petty chieftain of the Malayan or other race to the eastward of India took the title of Sultan on entering the pale of Mahometanism

(b). This would imply that there are some names left out.

14. Sultan Ahmed Tajudin, the present Ex Raja, otherwise called Chaaee Pangheram, son of Sultan Abdullah Mokurrum Shah.

On the demise of the latter the chief authority was disputed. Chau Ibrahim (the Ex Raja's younger brother) was patronized by the Raja of Ligor, who endeavoured to obtain the government for him from the Emperor of Siam. But the latter espoused the cause of the elder brother, who had proceeded to the capital, Bankok, to prefer his suit in person, and gave him the government of Keddah with the title of Chaure Pangeram, literally "Feudal Lord" (a), a compound of Siamese and Javanese. The fact of the King of Keddah having proceeded to Siam on the death of his father in order to do homage to the Sovereign of that state, and to submit his right of succession to the confirmation of that haughty Court appeared to me fatal to his claims of independence. The line of conduct pursued by the British Government for the last 20 or 30 years as well the enquiries of two eminent Malayan Scholars, Lt. Col. McInnes and Mr. Crawfurd, have unhappily placed beyond the deliberations of this Board the question of the King of Siam's being the Lord Superior of the Raja of Keddah(b).

Vide Letter to the Sec. to the S. Govt. 25 Oct. 1823. *

* *See Fact. Records, Straits Settlements, Vol. 91.*

(a). Pangiran or Pangeran. The title of certain feudal Chiefs in Java and the southern parts of Sumatra (formerly under the dominion of Bantam) who in many places are now independent Princes. It appears to be also given to other persons of rank independent of territory. (Marsden's Dictionary.)

(b). *May 1837.* As it is understood that the Ex-Raja intends by the help of the movement party * in Penang to petition the British Government for a restoration to his supposed lost rights, it may be here mentioned, in addition to what I have already urged on the subject, that when in 1818 an application was made to him by the Honorable Colonel Bannerman, then Gover- of Prince of Wales Island, for a small accession of territory up to the Marbow River, he evaded the request by openly stating in reply that "as Keddah belonged to Siam he could not grant it." This fact was not-

* *(sic.)*

Thus if the Annals are faithful there were six Keddah Chiefs who were Buddhists and who governed in succession, and fourteen who were Mussulmans. Giving for each a period of about 20 years the total period from Marrong Maha Wangsa, up to the expulsion of the present Ex-King, being about 479 years.

Concluding Political Reflections regarding the ex-Raja.

It would appear a very solid and satisfactory argument, as likewise a sufficient moral, legal and political reason for all that has taken place since the cession of Penang, including of course the Treaty of Bangkok, that the Keddah Chief who made that cession designedly falsified to Captatin Light his position with regard to Siam, by assuring the latter that

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oriously known to the natives then, and is yet well remembered by many who were present when the Raja so committed himself. Mr. Phillips subsequently acquainted him that the Siamese intended to attack him. To this intimation he replied that he had indeed neglected to send the usual tribute of gold and silver flowers, although with the knowledge of the Raja of Ligor. He had before confessed his tributary state in a letter he had addressed to Mr. Bruce. On the same grounds the Raja stopped an expedition which Colonel Bannerman had fitted out for passing (through a part of Keddah) to the Patani tin mines

1821 *

*See *Fact. Records, Straits Settlements Vol. 80.*

28 April 1810 (1)

1818.

Jany. 1822 (2)

The Sultan Dhadin Makurrum Shah, uncle to the Ex Raja, addressed a letter from Purlis to the Honble. Mr. Phillips stating "that the country of Keddah has been feudally subject to the Empire of Siam from former times down to those of my grandfather, my father, myself, and my nephew, Sultan Ahmed Tajoodin (the Ex Raja) Whoever became Raja of Keddah all of them had letters of appointment from the Emperor of Siam."

(1.) *See Fact. Rec. Straits Settlements. Vol. 30.*

(2.) *Ibid. Vol. 84*

In some respects it is unfortunate that the Ex Raja had not at once been taken to Malacca from Bruas (a). His return to Penang and retention there until again sent to Malacca, although it had the good effect of showing to the Malays that the British Government acted consistently and determinedly, yet gave a renewed life to feelings which were rapidly becoming extinct.

It also gave the handle which has been used for buoying up the Malays with the idea that on the in-

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(a). This could not at the time be done.

any respect which he showed to Siam was solely owing to a feeling of its power. The Chief and his Kling and Malayan Councillors knew full well that had the truth been told to Captain Light, and had that History of Keddah which was then amongst the records of the Raja (and of which his successor, the present Ex Raja, gave me a copy) been laid before him, that officer could not with reference to the repeated and cautious instructions he had received on this point from the Supreme Government, have negotiated at all with any Keddah authority for the cession of Penang. The then Chief or Raja must have been thrown entirely out of the question, and if any negotiation for the cession of Penang had issued, that must have been made directly with the Court of Bankok. That this plan would have saved much political bickering and animosity, and would have been easy of accomplishment, can scarcely be doubted, because the Siamese cared little or nothing

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stigation of the disaffected, a few interested persons joined to the Ex Rajas's adherents, the British Government will at once change a line of policy which it had adhered to for fifty years, and which it is bound by treaty still to adhere to, that it will either take Keddah under its protection by wresting it from Siam, and thus raising up an implacable enemy to be opposed perhaps within the British line, or allow the Ex Rajah to attack Keddah backed by half the population of the Penang Station, and aided by Penang merchants with arms and ammunition, thereby urging the Malays and Siamese to a protracted contest, which would not only unsettle and demoralize our own subjects, but convulse the whole Peninsula, would injure trade, and severely affect the revenue. The progress towards settled habits, which is civilization, would be arrested and thrown back indefinitely, much blood would be shed, and at length the Siamese would assuredly, if British troops did not oppose them, retain the Keddah country, and the Malays would find their last state worse than the first.

It is a suicidal act of the Penang settlers the trying to send back the Malays to Keddah. One might imagine that they were not sufficiently satisfied with the diminution of their trade, but were aiming to undermine the agricultural interests of the settlement by depriving it of its labouring and now settled population: But passion and party spirit are blind.

about Penang, which was all but a desert Island and as they were very anxious at the time to have some convenient European port, where they might quickly procure arms and ammunition for their wars with the Burmese; and also as in this case the Keddah Chief would have firmly adhered to his allegiance to Siam. Vexed and incensed as the Siamese Court was at the, by it, unauthorized cession of Penang, it still hailed the occupation of the island by a Power which might be useful both directly and indirectly—directly as above noticed, and indirectly as it restrained the Burmese in their progress south.

When it was subsequently discovered that at the least Keddah was a vassal Province, although the full extent of its dependency was still merely a surmise, it was too late to remedy the error into which Captain Light had been studiously betrayed by the Rajah. Had the Siamese either at the period of the cession or within a reasonable period afterwards openly protested against it, the possession of the British would have been still more anomalous than it was. Happily the Siamese Emperor finding that he derived temporary advantages from the vicinity of the new settlement, connived at its occupation, denouncing vengeance only against the Rajah of Keddah, and the Court of Siam since that period has appeared to be aware that this failure to protest publicly at first against British occupation amounted to a tacit acknowledgment of its assent thereto. Such at least was the apparent feeling of the Court when the Treaty of Bankok was negociated—occupancy being then admitted as a sufficient claim to possess, and here again the same political foresight instigated them as at the original cession, to gain a further bulwark against the Burmese power at the slight cost of not advancing claims to Penang.

If the Rajah's insincerity had been discovered at the outset he would probably have paid very dearly

for it, since he would have likely been then left to himself, and his double crime (of first denying his allegiance and then of offering part of Keddah province to foreigners) would have sealed his fate at Bankok. The English could have had no alternative supposing they had not negotiated directly with Siam, betwixt supporting per fas nefasque the Chief in his usurpation and thus giving the Siamese a just cause for going to war, or of quitting the Coast altogether. If this latter course had been adopted before even the Rajah had fully committed himself to the English, still he had otherwise paved the way to his own ruin by intriguing with both the Dutch and the French. The latter people were prepared to step in with invidious aid. But they could not have stayed long while England had fleets in the Indian Seas, and occupied, as must have been the case, some other station in the Straits. The fate of the Raja would only therefore have been delayed, not averted. Most probably the Malays would have been driven by Dutch rule to join with the Siamese in expelling them from Keddah. On a false plea therefore the Raja not only secured that shelter from Siamese domination which he had been willing to gain at any price, but he involved the British, although unknowingly on their part, in his attempt to throw off his just allegiance. He and his advisers knew perfectly well that once fixed at Penang the English could hardly retreat, and when he had got them so fixed he got gradually rid of his apprehensions of Siam and raised his demands on the British. Afterwards feeling strongly Dutch promises, Burman promises and piratical aid he tried to expel the British from the Island, hoping to make a better bargain with one of the powers for what was not his own to give.

The British were not, it may be supposed, after this under any moral obligation to the Keddah Rajah. If there could have existed any political obligation, that must have been incurred by the sacri-

fice of a portion of national credit and honor by the abetting of the treason of the subject Chief. Further if any thing were wanting to bear out these statements such would be found in the fact that the Ex Raja had gone to Siam in person and obtained as a favor from the Emperor the Government of Keddah in life rent and dependent on his good behaviour, and also in his avowal during Col. Bannerman's Government, made in open Durbar to Messrs. Cracraft and Caunter, the Government Agents, who were sent to negotiate for a better northern boundary, that Keddah belonged to Siam and that he could not treat. It seems plain, politically considered, that by the first of these acts, he for his own selfish ends broke off the British connection and virtually nullified the treaty made with Sir G. Leith for his own selfish ends, because others of his family had prior and much better claims than he to the Government, and in breach of the Treaty,* because he thereby proved and admitted his inability, *as a subject of Siam*, to fulfil the conditions which his predecessor, on the false ground however of *independence*, had pledged himself to perform.

* (*sic.*).

And if this reasoning be just it will follow, that as the treaty of cession was made by a subject of Siam without the participation or sanction of Siam, so it was invalid from the beginning, and that the British rights rest on occupancy, confirmed by the Treaty of Bankok, and the subsidiary Treaty with the Rajah of Ligor which settled boundaries,

Internal State of Keddah.

The population of Keddah might about fifty years ago have been from 80,000 to one hundred thousand persons. But wars, emigration and misgovernment have reduced the number to 20,000 (a). In 1786 Captain Gloss estimated it at 40,000 persons only—a mistake. The Malays did not begin to emigrate to Penang

(a). Making allowance for increase after emigration the case may stand thus (increase inclusive)

until long after. The Raja, to check the movement, imposed a fine of one hundred dollars on each emigrating family. Since the final occupation of Keddah by the Siamese the Court of Bankok has relied more on its moral than its physical force to retain it in subjection. There have been seldom more than from two hundred to three hundred Siamese troops in the country. There can be little doubt that their rule has been much overblamed and that whatever the relatives and mercenary adherents of the Ex Raja may assert, the Malays of Keddah are little disposed to see him again amongst them.

This country has a few natural defences such as mountains and jungles, but these are easily overcome by the Siamese. It can hardly be said to have artificial ones, the Keddah Fort at the mouth of the river is paltry in the extreme. The old brick walls are from eight to ten feet high and enclose an area of about eighty yards by fifty. A few large shot well directed would crumble down any part of the wall in a few minutes. Any force could penetrate from the sea by the rivers to the central parts of the country. At spring tides a vessel of 300 tons burden can enter the Keddah river over the bar. Troops cannot easily reach it from Ligor under a journey of seventeen days, but they could reach it from Daloong in about 10 days.

The Raja of Ligor has been accused of misgoverning Keddah. It should however be recollected that so long as the Ex Raja and his friends have the means to intrigue, as they have already so frequently done with the Keddah inhabitants, to drive out the Siamese.

1.	Emigrated to Penang	30,000
2.	Do. to Province Wellesley .	40,000
3.	Remained in Keddah	20,000
		90,000

the latter will be compelled to act the part of conquerors as their only safe policy. These frequent rebellions release the Siamese from any charge of having broken their engagements.

Keddah was never a rich country. Its chief products were grain, cattle, tin and rattans. The Chiefs or Rajahs increased their scanty legitimate revenues by exactions of various kinds, and by a monopoly of trade—consequently the bulk of the people were mere slaves dependent on the will of their despotic rulers. Forced services were perhaps one of the most grievous impositions, the individual receiving no pay. The service might be compounded for by a grain payment, equivalent to about three rupees per head. The Raja bought the grain from his subjects at his own price. There was a house tax also paid partly in grain and partly in cash, averaging about a rupee for each domicile. The tax to support the Raja's band and drums of state was from one rupee up to two according to the ability and wealth of the inmates. House timber and thatching were supplied by the people to the Chiefs. The Ryots were bound to supply gunpowder of their own manufacture to the Chiefs. Betel leaf [was] also supplied gratis. The Rajah's elephants were kept and fed at the ryots' expense. Debtors were dragged along with their families by the creditors at once to their houses, and if unable to pay they were kept as slaves and a fee of two dollars was paid to the Raja. If any of the Raja's slaves killed a ryot nothing was said. If a ryot, on the contrary, killed one of the Raja's slaves, he and his family became slaves to the Raja. Fines were fertile sources of oppression. Persons stealing the Raja's cattle were made slaves, as were persons indebted to the Raja's mercantile agent. The ryots had to supply provisions to the Raja or any of his officers and their followers who were attending the mosque on particular occasions. Sireh or betel growers paid a monthly tax of produce to the Chiefs.

The people had to perform warlike services by sea and by land, both on account of the Rajah and as Siamese subjects in the armies of Siam. On these occasions each ryot had to carry ten guntongs of rice along with him, and when that was expended the Raja supplied provisions, but no pay. If any one resisted the order to serve he was killed.

End of Part I.

(Signed) James Low.

Province Wellesley
20th April 1837.

N.B.—Several amendments and corrections of the original have been now made by me.

India Political Consultations, Range 196, vol. 14.

Fort William 22d June 1842.

No. 29.

To the Honble S. G. Bonham Esquire
Governor of Prince of Wales Island
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter requiring for the Right Honble. the Governor General in council a second copy of my Retrospect of British Policy in the Straits of Malacca &ca.

I request now to forward to you another copy, and at the same time to mention that I have availed myself of this occasion and have brought up the narrative to the present day.

In my reply to your letter respecting Twanku Mahomed Saad, and also the Political Account I have noticed the acts of that person subsequently as well as previous to his expulsion from his usurped authority and position in Keddah.

I should hope that the disputed point of the entire political dependence of Keddah on Siam, on which the whole of the Keddah question hinges, will have been satisfactorily proved by the Malayan History of Keddah alone, which I quoted largely in the 1st part of my Political Account. Of this History there are I believe only two copies extant, owing to the disturbances in that country. The one is in the possession of the Ex Rajah and the other is in my possession, having been given to me as I formerly stated by the Ex Rajah himself.

This last fact is the best proof of the authenticity of that History and of its being considered by the parties the most interested in its tendency as the Expositor of the Political Condition of Keddah.

I have &ca.

(Signed) James Low, Major.

Singapore,
26th April 1842.

NOTE.

On pages 72, 73 and 74 originally appeared the Contents of Part II., but this index was found to be very incomplete and these pages have consequently been omitted. An Index to the whole publication will be issued later on.

Part II.

A Retrospect of British Policy in The Straits of Malacca from the period of the First Establishment of Penang on the 17th of July 1786 up to April 1842

Combining Historical Details Respecting the Straits Settlements and the Neighbouring Native States.

By Major James Low
46th Regt. Madras N. I.

Chapter 1st.

Dutch Policy.

In 1785 Captain James Scott of the country Merchant Service suggested to the Supreme Government the expediency of securing some favourable position to the Eastward for the purpose of counteracting the exclusive contract system of the Dutch, and giving to the British trade a chance of participating in the commerce of the Archipelago (a).

(a). In 1783 the Dutch sent all their disposable forces to attack the Rajah of Rhio because he favoured all the numerous British merchants who resorted to his port for the purchase of pepper and gold dust. But they found it no easy task to punish the Raja for "this great crime". After having blockaded the place for several months they attempted to force their way into the river, but were repulsed and forced to return to Malacca, with the loss of their Commodore, a Civilian, and a ship of 500 tons burden, which blew up, killing 500 men on board of her. Other vessels were also damaged.

The Bugis Prahus under the command of Raja Haji, who had settled at Rhio, having been joined by the Rajah of Salengore went by sea and blockaded Malacca and forced the Dutch within their lines, but fresh troops arrived in 1784 from Batavia who stormed the Raja's compound, killed about 400 of the Rhio people, the remainder fled. The Dutch then proceeded to Salengore which they found deserted. The Dutch had some time previously requested assistance from the Rajas of Keddah and Tringanoo. The former excused himself on account of a war in Patani, the latter

Martaban Coast.

But other advantages which will be noted hereafter were expected to be derived from the measure. Mr. Scott proposed Salang (Junkceylon) as a good station, but this was impolitic. At this period the Burmans held the Tenasserim Coast from Martaban to Mergui. Thus the Siamese were shut out from the coast and were forced to find an outlet through Junk Ceylon. The exports of [? Siam] were then about 5,000 piculs of tin, some amber, wax and ivory.

Indo-Chinese.

But Mr. Scott advanced a very untenable reason for occupying the territory of a country without the permission of its governor. He observed that waste countries are to them, the Indo-Chinese nations, of no value, and as they have plenty [of] waste land and jungle, as improvements do not enter into their calculations, they have no inducement therefore to dispute possession. Now the fact is that these people are most tenacious of territorial boundaries.

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joined them. In 1784 the Dutch sent a ship to the Raja of Keddah for a supply of rice and to deliver a letter to the Raja. The officers who delivered the letter, peremptorily, at the first audience, told the king "to give him two young women, and strange to say this demand was immediately complied with," through fear. In the same year the Raja of Salengore sent a party to Perak to massacre the Dutch garrison, but the attempt did not fully succeed, only the Commander and a sentinel having been wounded on the side of the Dutch, the latter (the Dutch) having fled after an engagement in which they killed some Bugis men and retreated to Malacca with the loss of all their stores and ammunition. Soon after, the Dutch having established a footing at Rhio, they built a fort there. This occupation was felt as a bar to the English trade with the people from Borneo, the Moluccas and Celebes, and even the Philippines, since all these had then no established emporium to revert to for the purpose. From May to October the passage from the Coromandel Coast to Penang is made in ten days and the return passage in about 15 days to 20 days in the same season. From November to April the passage from Penang to the Coromandel Coast takes about ten days and the return from any part of the Coast to the Northward of Masulipatam is made in about the same time.

Birds Nests Islands.

The Birds Nest Islands in the vicinity of Junk Ceylon yielded about 16,000 Dollars worth of produce and the tax was 5,000 Dollars. A rich pearl fishery was worked about 1785 at Pulo Matra near Pulo Tellibon by a Chulliah from the Gulf of Mawar, but was given up owing to the oppression of the Native Chiefs.

Preliminary Negotiations for the Cession of Penang.

1786. The Raja of Keddah wrote to the Governor General in this year stating that he had conferred the honorary title of Deva Raja on Captain Light(a), who had informed him that the English wished to possess Penang,(b) adding that "he had directed that "the flag of the Honorable Company should be hoisted on the Island in order that it might become a "trading port, and one where Ships of War might "obtain refreshments."(c) He conveyed also the Raja's sentiments regarding Siam, and he observed that he understood that his alliance with the Company was to prove also a shield to him against the attacks or demands of that power. Captain Light undoubtedly committed himself by unauthorizedly leading the Raja then to consider that his alliance with the Company was in some measure at least both offensive and defensive.

(a). Captain Light was also complimented by the Siamese King with the title of "Phra."

(b). Penang, long before its cession to the British, was famed for the quantities of fish in its vicinity. The fisheries attracted Malays from a distance. The inhabitants about 1750 were pirates, and it is said amounted to 3000 people. There were therefore no antiquities to boast of there. Fish are abundant enough now to confirm this statement.

(c). The popular belief and [one] which has been followed by Captain Begbie and Lieut. Newbold and the authors of Gazettes is that Captain Light received the Island as a dower from the Raja when he bestowed his daughter on the former in marriage. Such was not the fact, and anyhow the case would have been a very improbable one, since the Keddah Raja was a Mussulman. Captain Light was presented by the Raja with one of the female Maids of Honor of his wife, Tong Dee, a Siamese by birth.

Political Situation of Keddah.

From many circumstances it should seem that the Raja at first was eager for the alliance *under almost any form*, as he felt that it would at least be a check on the Siamese (a), and events confirm this judgment, for up to the expulsion of the present Ex-Raja from Keddah in 1829, the Siamese had evidently found that alliance to be a restraint on their plans, and had the Raja not presumed too far on its moral influence by leaguing with the Burmese and giving unnecessary umbrage in other matters to the latter nation since, he might still have been in possession as Governor of Keddah. It is even probable that had offence not been given until the termination of the Burmese War the impression made on the Siamese Court by this last event would have caused it to pause before it directed an invasion of Keddah.

Siamese attack Cambodia.

In 1784/5 the Siamese sent an army of 15,000 and 150 Prahus and junks to attack Cambodia, but were surprised and defeated, and only one third of the number returned to Siam. Ava joined the Cochin-French against Siam. A French Bishop went to Siam to try and get up a rebellion there. In January 1826 the Burmans assembled 10,000 men at Kra in Lat: 9.40° North, and on the 8th February following it attacked Salang (Junk Ceylon).

Burmese attack Junk Ceylon.

It is singular that the Burmese still tolerate a French Bishop, with subordinates, in Siam, and it is a favorable item in their character.

(a). The Rajah probably thought that once in alliance with the British every thing else he had in prospect would follow, of course. He was aware of the loss which the trade of Keddah would sustain by the cession of Keddah and stipulated *accordingly*, although in the treaties which secured to him an *equivalent* for this loss, the footing on which it was given is differently stated.

It was urged as a plea for occupation that a fleet cannot leave the Coromandel Coast station and go to Bombay and be again at its station before the beginning of April, so that an enemy which may have rectified (? refitted) at Achin or elsewhere to the eastward will have the bay free to them.

Treaties.

Original Propositions of the then Rajah of Keddah made to the Supreme Government.

1st.	Reply.
The Company to guard the seas and to be the enemy by sea of the Rajah's enemies.	This Government will always keep an Armed Vessel stationed to guard the Island of Penang and the adjacent Coast of Keddah.
2d.	2d.
The Company not to stop any vessel or prah bound to Keddah to trade. Such may proceed either to Penang or Keddah as the traders please.	Agreed to.
3d.	3d.
Opium, tin and rattans to remain monopolies unless the Company agree to pay an equivalent of 30,000 Drs., their average value per annum, for the abolition.	The Governor General in Council on the part of the English Company will take care that the King of Keddah shall not be a sufferer by an English Settlement being formed on the Island of Penang.
4th.	4th.
The Rajah will not be liable for the debts of his Chiefs or people to the Honble. Company's Agent.	The King ought to be liable for the debts of his relatives or officers and the creditor of his subjects should have power to seize the persons and property of debtors in Keddah

5th.	5th.
Any person in Keddah becoming an enemy to the Rajah to be considered also as an enemy of the Company.	The King's enemies and also capital offenders will not be protected by the Company.
6th.	6th.
If an enemy comes to attack us by land and we receive assistance from the Honble Company of men, arms or ammunition, the expenses of these will be defrayed by us.	Referred to the Honble. Court of Directors, along with other requests which cannot now be complied with.

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*See previous page Art. 3.

It will be seen below* that opium, tin and rattans were the monopoly articles on which the Rajah anticipated loss, and valued these at thirty thousand dollars, which was perhaps an exaggerated amount.

The reply of the Supreme Government to the 3d proposition of the Keddah Rajah, namely that care would be taken that he should not be a loser by the English occupying Penang has by some writers been unaccountably construed to include a guarantee of protection to him against foreign aggression!

That such was not the construction put upon it at the time, either by the Supreme Government or the Rajah himself, is evident from the reply to the demand for protection being in the negative.

Keddah Resources.

But the internal trade and monopolies of Keddah were only "considerably reduced" in value by the cession, *not annihilated*, so that the equivalent given to the Rajah for them, and which his successor enjoys at this day, or may enjoy, was perhaps far *beyond the actual loss*. The whole internal Revenue of Keddah in

its most prosperous time did not exceed one lac of rupees, (a) drawn from a population of about 150,000. In several respects the Rajah was a manifest gainer—in the outlet which Penang afforded for agricultural produce, and stock for which he had no ready market before. His external trade suffered indeed considerably, but when it is considered that the British Government were *resolved to have a settlement* to the eastward in the northern extremity of the Straits, the loss to the trade of Keddah would have been inevitable, should the new Settlement even have not been on any part of the Keddah territory. The Dingdings, for instance, could easily have been obtained from Perak.

The Keddah Rajahs, however, notwithstanding the payment alluded to, had always their profits on tin and rice exported, and of trade at their ports.

Dutch and French.

1786. At this period the Dutch influence extended from Point Ramania South up to 5° N : Lat : at the Krean, the then boundary betwixt Perak and Keddah, and had the British broken off negotiations with the Rajah that influence would not only have soon pervaded Keddah, but the Rajah might have found that he had, by calling the Dutch to his aid, exchanged that protection which must to a certain extent have followed an alliance with the British, for the subjection into which every Malayan State which had courted Dutch favour has fallen. The French too were at the period alluded to quite prepared to intrigue with the Keddah Rajah for the annoyance of the English. Ava also, as will be afterwards adverted to, had an eye on Keddah with the view of making it a means of annoyance to the Siamese. Setting therefore aside the political question of the mode in which Penang was acquired, it may fairly be urged that amidst so many conflicting and ambitious nations, it was happy for Keddah that she allied herself with

(a). No doubt the revenue under proper management might have been much increased.

Keddah Politics.

the English, and that it would have been so had the terms of that alliance been far less favorable to her. But if there be such a thing as political necessity it was felt then that such might perhaps alone have justified the occupation of Penang.

It will have been seen that the reply of the Supreme Government to the Rajah's Sixth Propositiou was by no means of such a nature as to convince him that the solicited protection against foreign enemies would be afforded.

The Rajah after this reply could not fairly urge any argument against the occupation of Penang.

Political state of Keddah.

It was about this period that Captain Light, who had always waived, if he had not quite denied all Siamese claims on Keddah, felt himself constrained to confess thus far, that "the Rajahs of Keddah *had* "*ever* acknowledged the Siamese as Lords Paramount." At the same time, having been called upon by the Supreme Government to clearly ascertain that no nation or power beyond Keddah* Kings came originally from Menangkabow in Sumatra, and always had through fear paid homage to the rival nations of Ava and Siam by sending gold and silver trees to each.

*sic—there appears to be an omission here.

When Captain Light went to Keddah to finally arrange about the cession, he found that a change had taken place in the bearing of the Rajah, and that he did not appear to be so satisfied, regarding it as he (Captain Light) had expected.

Dutch influence in Keddah.

This alteration he ascribed to the Dutch influence which had extended so far as to bribe the Keddah Ministers, and the known request of that nation to be allowed to hoist its flag in Keddah. When a petty Malayan Chief like the Keddah Rajah thus found his friendship and alliance courted by the only three European nations possessing powers on the Coast, at any rate naval powers, and by Ava, the great rival of

Siam, it is not surprising that he should have increased his demands. Captain Light described this Rajah as having been a mere puppet in the hands of his Chiefs. His father was that Mahomed Siva, when Mr. Monckton from Bengal first visited Keddah on a political Mission, and his mother was a slave girl. His illegitimacy was against his accession to the Government, and excited his uncles to dispute his claims.

Keddah Policy.

They leagued with the Rajahs of Perak and Salangore but were unsuccessful, probably through the interference of the Siamese Emperor, who ever gained in power by laying the weaker party under obligations to him. Captain Light represents this Prince as being weak, timid, avaricious and oppressive, and devoid of faith : and that he would not scruple perhaps to sacrifice Penang to Siamese intrigues.

The Rajah in fact was then under the guidance of a Chuliah(a) or Coromandell Coast man, bearing the title of Dattoo Sri Raja, who was interested in having the alliance cemented, but who with the characteristic cunning and cupidity of his class endeavoured to conclude a Jew's bargain for his master and himself. On a previous occasion when his powers were more stable and he did not anticipate the advantage of having a place of refuge at hand when the evil day should arrive, he scrupled not to cause the Rajah to decline receiving a letter which Captain Forrest had brought for him from the then Governor General, Mr. Hastings. Malayan Princes are in general at this day dependent on these Chuliahs or Jawi Pakans for advice on affairs both of state and of commerce, and the Rajah of Ligor even, has been long in the habit of employing these people as under secretaries, but without trusting them to any great extent.

(a). The Chuliahs are Coromandel men But most of the people so called and residing at Malayan Courts are the offspring of Coromandel men and Malayan women, and are there called Jawi Pakans.

Before the final arrangements took effect the Rajah asked Captain Light if, in the event of the decision of the Home Government proving unfavorable, he would return to Bengal. To this politic query the latter gentleman did not reply—for an obvious enough reason. But the mere putting of the question shows that the Rajah did not expect that the British force would return whatever the result might be.

Possession taken of Penang.

Captain Light took possession of Penang on the 17th July 1786. The expedition landed at Point Penaga. A spot of ground was cleared and a flag staff erected. On the 11th of August following a party assembled consisting of the following gentlemen, Captain Wall Honble. Company's Ship Vansittart, Captain Lewin H. C. S. Valantyne with his passengers, besides local government servants. The British flag was then hoisted and the Island was finally and formally taken possession of in the name of His Majesty and for the use of the Honble. the East India Company.

The point of land on which the town and suburbs now stand was, together with the interior, then covered with jungle.

5th Octr. 1786. Captain Light recommended that a force should be sent to defend Keddah against the Siamese and to consist of 3 Native Companies—50 Europeans, 50 Lascars, 1 Bombay cruiser and 2 Calivats. The Keddah Revenue was at this period only 100,000 Rupees, so that the Rajah could not have afforded to pay even a moiety of the expenses of such protection.

The Lancavi Islands had been possessed for a Settlement, but they are steep, rocky and mountainous with little land available for cultivation. Gunong Lava is in parts, it is said, covered with lava, and hot springs abound, so that there was danger from

a volcano again bursting forth. The Islands are also of doubtful salubrity. Besides they also appertain to Keddah. The Andaman Islands, although they had been during seven years under the direction of able men, did not exhibit at the end of that period any thing like colonization, cultivation or commerce.

Andaman Islands.

The climate is a deadly one. Penang had just been occupied when the Dutch invested Salangore with a large Marine force and compelled the Rajah to sign an agreement that he would send all his tin to Malacca.

Novr. 1786. About this time the Siamese overran the Patani Country which had refused to pay the usual homage. The Keddah Rajah was at the same time interdicted by the Siamese from sheltering Patani refugees. Patani was at this period a much more populous province than it is now. From frequent rebellions of its people it has fully experienced the weight of Siamese rule, and it perhaps does not now contain more than 60,000 persons, or about a third of its former population.

Patani State.

The Patani Malays are devoted Mahometans and numbers yearly go on the pilgrimage to Mecca. The natives do not fail to observe with foreigners, that the Haj is a convenient cloak for a hypocrite—a remark the truth of which is confirmed by the generally lax character borne by the Hajis of the Peninsula (a). Patani, it should seem, was early peopled by the Siamese race. If the Keddah Annals are to be relied on, it was settled by a colony from this latter country under a princess, the daughter of Rajah Bodisat, about the year A.D. 1350. This account is confirmed in some measure by the writer Floris, who observes that Patani was governed by Queens, and was

(a). I have found them generally the most forward in every political moment which has occurred in the vicinity of Penang and in Province Wellesley.

conquered by Raja Api or the Black King of Siam in A.D. 1603. The fact is curious as being rather an uncommon one in the history of the Indo-Chinese nations which reject almost invariably female dominion and succession. Ava furnishes an exception or two.

Rajah of Rhio.

1786. The Rajah of Rhio during this year supplicated the Supreme Government to assist him in regaining his country from the Dutch, and to place him and his people under the British flag. The Rajah of Selangore also sent to make a similar tender.

Patani State

The Malayan Annals describe the conquest of the Patani country by the Siamese during the reign of the Sultan Mahomed of Malacca, or about A.D. 1460. Before the year 1509, the period of the first advent of the Portuguese at Malacca, it is stated that the Prince who governed was named Raja Soliman or Moslem, and that his capital was called Kotah Meligei.

The conqueror this time was Chow Sri Bangsa a son of the King of Siam. The English had once a factory at Patani which does not appear to have been of much mercantile importance. It is a fruitful grain country, abounds in cattle which it often supplies to Penang, and contains inexhaustible Mines of tin(a).

There are gold mines likewise in the hills which separate it from Keddah and Perak on the West. They are worked at present (1837) to a considerable extent but the produce has not been ascertained.

I found that the direct route to Patani from Province Wellesley would be impracticable to a regular force, which should not be preceded by a large body of pioneers. Up to the mountains, within a day's

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(a). In 1833 I visited these mines and perhaps it was the first time that they had been so [visited] by any European, no one having ever before attempted to penetrate into the interior.

J. L.

march of the tin mines of Krah in Patani, the communication is entirely by water (a), although in the dry season a passage might be effected with difficulty by cutting down the jungle or clearing the underwood. A branch of the Mudah River was ascended by me with much difficulty in boats not carrying more than half a coyan. In the season* the smallest canoes only can ascend. The ascent in the rains is attended with great danger owing to the rapidity of the stream, its tortuous course and the impediments of sunken trees and rocks.

* *sic. ? dry season.*

Burmese attack Siam.

1786. The Burmese who had been instigated by the French and Cochin Chinese broke into Siam at several places—one division of their forces entered Upper Siam, and the other penetrated into the Lower Provinces of Ligor, Chaiya, Choomphon, Daloong and Banhae burning and destroying all before them and murdering the unprepared inhabitants. But these columns retreated suddenly without any assignable cause.

The Siamese rallied and put to death a party of 2,000 Burmans who had occupied Ligor. The Siamese Court then called to account the Rajahs of Keddah, Pahang and Wingaunoo, for their not having aided in repelling the Burmans from the dominions of their Liege Lord. Scarcely had the year passed over before Captain Light found it politic on the foregoing account to fortify his position.

The Rajah of Keddah made a timely submission to the Court of Bangkok, yet it can hardly be doubted that he had only been making a trial how far his new alliance would restrain the Siamese. The experiment however was kept in mind by the latter nation.

Keddah Politics.

22 Jany. 1787. The Supreme Government now acquainted Captain Light in the instructions sent to

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(a). The stream for the most of the way is shallow and narrow, admitting only canoes to pass.

him that a pecuniary compensation would be allowed to the Rajah of Keddah but that the latter must not expect that the British Government would enter into or become a party in his disputes with other Malayan Princes, since such if given would involve the British in disputes with the Burmese and Siamese. "Assistance should therefore be refused to either party and the security of the Island be made the sole object, endeavouring to acquire the respect and secure the good will of the neighbouring States." Captain Light had by the same authority been previously informed that "the countenance of the Company might be offered to the Rajah of Keddah where it would not compromise the honor, credit or troops of the Company." But the Rajah of Keddah, repenting it should seem of his negotiation with the British, represented his case to the very enemy he had been constantly guarding against, the King of Siam, and the latter would probably have leagued with [his] vassal to drive the English out, had he not caught, as we believe, a distant glimpse of British power and felt that the Burmans might coalesce. That the Siamese were aware even then of the strength of the British in a degree at least, is evident from the request they made at this time to Captain Light, that the English should take possession of Mergui, a Province which had been wrested from them by the Burmans. This would, had it been effected, have covered a weak point of the Siamese [? frontier,] and they have since reaped the full advantage they expected from this measure—and much more, for their frontier up to Phra Song Choo (a) is flanked by the friendly British Province of Tenasserim. The treaty which ensued in the war betwixt the British with the Burmese has likewise secured since that event to the Siamese a freedom from Burmese inroad or invasion and promised to ensure the security of her frontier so long as that Treaty

Siamese and Keddah Politics.

(a). "The Three Pagodas."

shall exist. Siam, therefore, not only without any exertion of her own, but even in spite of a very suspicious policy on her part, towards the British during that war, has gained an immense accession of force. Relieved from the necessity of constant warfare and expensive expeditions, her population has more time to improve her numerous resources, financial and political. Had it not been for this, to her, result of the war—all unmerited as it was by her—Siam would probably ere now have been partitioned out betwixt the Cochin Chinese and Burmese, her two natural enemies, and to one of whom or both she will most likely become in the end a prey. Her neighbours too on the north, the Laos of Che-ung Mai and Lanchang, are ever ready to assert independence. It is impossible that the Court of Bankok should be blind to the nature of her political position.

It will be apparent from what has been noticed that there are no real grades of Siamese society. Below the line of Public Office all are nearly on an equality, and thus under one of the most despotic governments in the world every man may aspire to the highest office of the State. The literature of the Siamese, which is accessible to every rank, and their religion which is based on humanity and is not devoid of sublimity, serve to raise them above the medium ranks of civilization (a).

* *(sic.)* ? 1787.

1797.* At the period of which we are treating the British alliance was courted by most of the Malayan Peninsula States, the primary object being to gain protection against the insidious, if not open aims, of Siam. Had the extension of the British power been then desirable a slight effort might have secured it, but neither trade or concealed hostilities of the Dutch (then very influential in the Straits) would

(a). The Asiatic Society of Calcutta did me the honor to print two papers of mine in their Researches, one on the Government and the other on the Literature of the Siamese.

[have] embarrassed or suspended the former, while expensive civil and military establishments would have swallowed up much more than the paltry revenues of the subsidised States.

Achin.

14 Octr. 1787. Among the rest Achin profferred her alliance and friendship, and offered to discard the French. But this alliance would have been accompanied then by inconveniences similar to those just noticed.

The population of Achin was then estimated at about 1,398,000 persons. The Malays have been generally considered to entertain a particular dislike of the French, although this is the nation which has the least interference with them. In other parts of the East the French are sometimes liked because they mix more than other Europeans with the people. The remark does not seen however to apply to Algiers. Perhaps the French character has altered since they were in the Straits. In a subsequent chapter I will describe the British relations which existed with Achin.

Keddah Politics.

The proposition which was made at this period by Captain Light that protection should be publicly promised to the Rajah of Keddah was not complied with by the Supreme Government. Keddah then paid to Siam the yearly tribute of gold and silver flowers, besides feudal services, including supplies for troops, and Captain Light was apprehensive that if the Rajah's wishes were not complied with he might call in the aid of his Liege Lord (the Emperor of Siam) to expel the British.

1788. The Supreme Government in this year empowered Captain Light to arrange with the Rajah for an annual payment to him of a sum not exceeding 10,000 Sp: Drs.* No direct protection was to be offered "but such countenance as should not involve the the Company in military operations against any Eastern Prince, or compromise the honor or credit of the Company."

* *See Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 3.*

Burmah, Keddah and Siam.

The Rajah of Keddah was called upon about this time by the Siamese for a contingent of troops to aid in attacking the Burmese at Pegue, and Keddah was threatened with destruction in case of a refusal to comply with the requisition. Compliance was indeed a *duty* on the part of the province (a), and they applied very modestly to Captain Light for 200 barrels of gunpowder 2,000 muskets and 500 blunderbusses, offering to pay for them, when it should suit him of course. The request was denied.

Malayan States and Policy.

I cannot help here noticing that at the period alluded to, and up to one much later, the distresses of Keddah did not call to her rescue any of the kindred tribes of the Straits. It was not until bigoted Arabs, lying and cowardly Chuliahs and Hadjis, and interested Chinese, backed by an ill informed and radical local press had sounded the tocsin of war against the *infidel*, that the right of Siam to interfere in Keddah affairs was questioned.

1788. The Rajah of Tringanoo, a country lying on the eastern coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, solicited an alliance with the British. His envoys offered to deliver 6,000 piculs of pepper yearly in exchange for opium at 25 piculs the chest, which might have been equivalent then to perhaps 250 Dollars per chest. The Rajah in reply was told by the Supreme Government to submit quietly to the Dutch, and a similar reply was given to the application of the Rajah of Rhio.

Malays, Dutch and Siamese.

The Malays were at this period bent on expelling the Dutch from the Straits. They had eighty war prahus in the Straits of Singapore and Lahore, and another large fleet in the Straits of Dryon, but single handed they could not cope with the Dutch, and the British did not enter the lists on either side.

(a). Such feudal and other services, with supplies for troops, being the great revenue paid to Siam by Keddah.

1788. It may be deemed to be rather a singular fact that the Siamese had never in any shape publicly protested against the occupancy of Penang by the English, but in the above year the French Padre at Siam reported that they were much annoyed at the cession and had willingly received an overture from the Rajah of Keddah to obtain aid from them in an endeavour to expel the English. They, however, but long subsquently to this period and during the Government of Mr. Phillips, advanced a claim to the sum which had been annually paid to the Rajah before his expulsion from Keddah.

Keddah and Siam.

The Rajah at this time (1788) too, and while actually it should seem intriguing with the Siamese for the purpose alluded to, proposed through his Ministers to Captain Light that the British should attack the Siamese Province of Ligor, while that people were on a distant expedition. The proposition was at once rejected. As a proof that whatever the Siamese might have felt they were duly impressed with a sense of British power, it may be remarked that in the same year the Emperor of Siam sent a flowery and most adulatory letter, couched in the most amicable style, to the Superintendent of Penang.

Politics of Keddah and Siam.

It was perhaps however imprudent, under the then existing state of Indian politics, in Captain Light to accept the honorary title of Sri Deva Rajah bestowon him by the then Emperor, since it might possibly have been brought up afterwards as an acknowledgment of Siamese supremacy, or considered or construed as a pretty direct admission on the part of Siam that the occupation of Penang by the British was not inconsistent with her position in regard to Keddah. It amounted at least to a tacit recognition of the occupancy, and might have been fairly used afterwards as an argument against any objections which the Siamese might have chosen to urge on that point.

Negotiations with Keddah.

The Island had been ceded and taken final possession of, yet no compensation to the Rajah had yet been been agreed on. The latter still hoping to overcome the aversion of the British to forming an offensive and defensive alliance with him, refused two offers made to him by Captain Light, the one of 10,000 dollars for seven or eight years, the other of 4,000 Spanish Dollars for so long as the Company should retain possession of Penang, and he continued deaf to the parrying, although to a certain extent good argument, that the mere fact of his being in alliance with the British would, when publicly known, prove a safeguard to him against his enemies. The Rajah nevertheless insisted that Captain Light had promised him assistance in arms and men. It is true that this gentleman did on his own responsibility assert in a letter addressed to the Rajah several years before (5th October 1785) that he would assist him if distressed in his expected troubles with the Siamese and Burmese, but the kind of aid was not specified, and the coupling of the two nations together shews plainly that he thereby meant mediation. The Rajah finding that no direct aid would be given to him hoped to stimulate the latter (Captain Light) by courting the alliance of some other but less scrupulous European power, and he accordingly made separate overtures to the French authorities at Pondicherry, and to the Dutch. It does not appear that the former met his advances with alacrity, but the latter permitted them with avidity, received the Rajah's letter with great pomp, and no doubt hoped by a grand stroke of policy to exclude the British for ever from the Straits of Malacca.

Rajah of Keddah's intrigues.

A Dutch frigate was dispatched to Keddah, and two other cruizers of the same nature actually anchored off Penang harbour, and there interfered with the trade of the infant settlement.

The visit of the frigate was followed immediately by the Rajah laying an embargo on rice and

supplies exported to Penang. The experiment of the Rajah did not change the resolution of the Superintendent of Penang. The Dutch found most likely that the benefits to be expected would be more than counterbalanced by the trouble and expense of sustaining the attacks of Siam on Keddah, and their visits were no doubt marked by their usual grasping spirit, for the Rajah removed the embargo, and broke off negotiations with them. The Rajah had now in fact thrown off the mask and Captain Light was obliged to report that "he had not sent for any money or "opium and was very much irritated against him for "not complying with his (the Rajah's) demands."(a)*

1790.

* *See Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 4.*

The position of the Rajah was thus altered—he had finally ceded the Island and allowed it to be occupied, and he had placed himself in a hostile attitude in respect to its occupiers on the ground that Captain Light had not fulfilled his promises of assisting him against the Siamese. But the Rajah knew well that such promises, vague as they must have been, had not been ratified by the Supreme Government, or even recognized by it, and it can scarcely be doubted that he made an improvident cession, and then repenting of it took hold of any plea for recovering lost ground.

His next attempt betrayed the rashness of the Malay, and gave to the English a strong plea for treating him afterwards as a concealed enemy. This was the Malayan League.

Pirates attack Penang.

In December 1790 a Malayan fleet arrived at Penang. It consisted of four hundred large and small prahus carrying one hundred and twenty pieces of Ordnance of from 6 to 12 lbs. calibre, besides small arms, and the number of men was estimated at 8,000. Besides this force there was one sent from *Keddah* by land of nearly the same strength.

* *See vol. 4 as above.*

(a). Sangora was plundered during the year by the Taloon fleet.

The fleet of prahus had been fitted out by the Rajahs and Chiefs of Tringanoo, Rambow, Siac, Sooloo, Lingin, Johore, Indragiri, Cota Carang and Siantan. With this armament the Malays vainly imagined they could expel both the English and Dutch from the Straits, but it will be seen that Malayan prowess had wofully degenerated since the era when the Portuguese held Malacca.

It does not appear from the records of Penang at the period when these events took place, that the Rajah of Keddah had summoned the forces described to his aid, but there can be little doubt that he did so, and at any rate he took full advantage of their presence.

When however the combined flotilla had been beaten off from Perak in an attack they had made on the Dutch Settlement there, and had been refused permission by the Superintendent at Penang to pass northward through the harbour, the Rajah of Keddah sent an officer to the Commander, who was a Lanoon man, with instructions to offer twenty thousand dollars to him if he would attack and destroy Penang during the night. At the same time the Rajah pledged himself that should he prove unsuccessful, he would co-operate with the fleet in besieging Penang. (a)

Dec. 1790.

Preliminary Negotiations.

It would appear that the offer was accepted, but that the attack which was to have taken place on the night of the 25th had been frustrated by a difference of opinion as to the mode of it having arisen amongst the Chiefs of the fleet. The latter now sailed to Keddah and all communication with that port was cut off and Mr. Scott, who was dispatched to Keddah to gain intelligence, learned that the Malays avowed their intention to destroy Penang.

(a). Eighteen large piratical prahus having large guns and 30 boats came to Pulo Kra but were forced off by a schooner.

Jan. 6th 1791. Things continued in this state during nearly two months, the Rajah evidently trusting to gain his objects by intimidation, and Captain Light continuing 13th Feb. 1791. to express to the Supreme Government that he saw no danger from the Company avowing him (the Rajah) to be under its protection. The Rajah also seized about 30,000 Dollars worth of property belonging to merchants in Penang, and he asked of Captain Light that ten thousand Dollars should be paid him yearly by the Company, that the Company should defend the sea coast at their own expense, and furnish to him men and the munitions of war and the loan of cash when required. The men and warlike stores were to be paid for. Provisions, he conditioned, would be supplied to Penang at a fair price. The Island of Penang at this times depended on Keddah chiefly for supplies of cattle, rice and poultry. Considerable distress therefore prevailed on account of the deprivation alluded to. The Malays hovered about in prahus carrying a six or nine lb. gun each, while the French were suspected of aiming at the establishing a factory in Keddah. Specie was exhausted and a war seemed pending betwixt Britain and France. Such being, in Captain Light's opinion, a critical state of affairs, he advanced ten thousand dollars to the Keddah Rajah, which it will be seen, and as might have been expected, only served to convince the latter that his plan of intimidation was the one best calculated to gain his object. The future existence therefore of the British in the Straits was to depend not on the boasted and long lauded generosity and friendship of the Raja, which had been better expressed by the terms sordid, mis-calculating self interest, but on sheer physical and political strength.

For the events here alluded to see Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 4.

The Supreme Government again acquainted Captain Light that if indeed, as he wished to make it appear, it were absolutely necessary to concede to the Rajah's third demand even to the extent recommended

by Captain Light (namely reasonable assistance when proper application should have been made and the necessity of the case made apparent) in order to come to a final adjustment with him, then such an adjustment cannot now be made, whatever be the consequences.

'Captain Light was authorized to offer 10,000 dollars per annum for so long as the English retained possession of the Island. The Rajah's conduct did not deserve the epithet bestowed on it by Captain Light of *perfidious* because he (the Rajah) had as yet been a sufferer by the cession of the Island; and he might have been strongly tempted from other quarters to attempt its recovery. Captain Light was not therefore to distress the Rajah by war or otherwise.'

This human forbearance was however requited by the Rajah in a manner which to some minds would have furnished a plea for a less scrupulous behaviour towards him.

Lanoon Pirates attack Penang.

19 April * 1791.

On the 19th day of April 1791 a fleet of twenty Lanoon boats entered the Pry, which is a deep creek or River in Province Wellesley, lying on the mainland nearly opposite to the town of Penang. The width of the channel from the Island to the opposite beach is about 2¾ miles. About 9 O'Clock of the same day the Bindahara or General of Keddah joined with 90 boats, while a land force was also collected. Entrenchments (still visible) were immediately thrown up [on] Pry point. On the 23rd. most of the merchant vessels which were lying in Penang harbour set sail, and the inhabitants asked leave to attack the enemy.

Captain Light, still following up his former policy, sent 5,000 Spanish dollars to the Keddah General, intimating that it was part of the yearly payment, but this offer produced no effect. The enemy now intrigued with the Malays in Penang,

promising them their lives and a share of the plunder if they would assist in its capture.

9th. * On the 9th the enemy sent a declaration of war, in which it was stated that in regard [to] Keddah the English had promised much but had performed nothing. The head Malay was at the same time ordered to drive the English out of Penang.

For these events, see vol. 4 as above.

The strong arm now took [the] place of fruitless negotiation. Captains Light and Glass fitted out some gun boats to act along with three small vessels, one of which was a Chinese.

At 4 O'Clock A.M. on the 12th Captain Glass landed on the opposite coast (now Province Wellesley) with one Company of Golundaze, two Companies of Bengal Sepoys and twenty Europeans—and four gunboats kept close along the shore. The enemy were taken by surprise and after some show of resistance were driven out of their stockades. The vessels and gun boats under Lieutts. Raban and Milne attacked at daybreak the enemy's fleet now mustering about two hundred prahus, and after sustaining a heavy fire for some time, compelled it to retire out of sight to the southward of the Island.

On the 14th the fleet again appeared. The gunboats and a punt, having an 18 lb. gun in its bow, were again sent against the enemy who were beaten off with great loss and followed up for four miles. Thus the steady discipline of about four hundred troops of all arms enabled them speedily to triumph over a force estimated at betwixt eight thousand and ten thousand men. The lesson has not been thrown away for no expedition of the sort has since been got up by the Malayan States, which have generally contented themselves by resisting the aggressions of the Dutch and this with no despicable degree of vigour, and by encouraging the growth of piracy. The late Naning war will not be an exception, being a local defection merely, in

which the nearest States hardly took any, and that but a feeble share. In the whole of this attack on Penang only four men were killed on the British side, and twenty one were wounded.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Rajah of Keddah's own orders for the attack was in the hands of the Superintendent, His Highness deemed it the only course left to him to deny all participation in the affair.

Yet his own prahus remained blocked up in the Pry River as a proof of his insincerity! Captain Light did not push matters to further extremity but tacitly admitted the Raja's plea in order that a final arrangement might be more speedily effected.

15 June 1791. But the Supreme Government having seen the danger of allowing the Malays to rendezvous at Pry "prohibited the Rajah from building any Fort there," and it was thus the recollection of the annoyance Penang had sustained, joined to the desire to render

Province Wellesley. that Island independent of Keddah for supplies, which eventually led to the obtaining the Pry District with some adjoining ones, as a cession from the Rajah, and had the tract in question, now comprised in Province Wellesley, been properly settled when it had been ceded the advantages now derived from it might have been available to a considerable extent twenty years ago, if not before. The Keddah Rajah now asked an annual compensation of 10,000 Dollars, which the Supreme Government afterwards

12 Augt. 1791 complied with, at the same time declaring it to be the ultimatum under any circumstances. But 6,000 Dollars were given in the first instance annually.

On the 1st May 1791 a Treaty (a) was concluded

(a). The Conditions were shortly these.—
Articles 1st. The English to give the Rajah of Keddah 6,000 Dollars yearly as long as they retained Penang.

betwixt Captain Light on the part of the British and the Rajah. As if to show the justness of the estimate which had been formed of Keddah politics, the Rajah in 1792 wantonly involved himself in a quarrel with Siam, by aiding and countenancing an attack which was made on the Siamese Provinces of Daloong and Sangora by the Malay Sheikh Abdullah Sainat. This man had collected 400 Hajis of Keddah, and 3,000 Patani Malays and had plundered and destroyed several villages in these districts, but the force was surrounded and defeated by the troops of Siam. The consequence of this quarrel was that the Island of Penang lost the advantage for a while of the stipulations of the 2d Article of the Treaty. Her position in regard to the British, rather than the timely concessions made by her, probably saved Keddah this time. But the circumstance shows [to] what lengths the Rajah would certainly have [gone] had the British support against the Siamese power been guaranteed to him.

The Siamese Court could not help feeling vexed at the British to whose friendship for the Rajah it no doubt attributed his perverseness.

December 1792. By way of experimenting to what extent it might retaliate, that Court sent an Embassy to Penang in

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Art. 2d. Provisions for Penang and Ships of War may be bought free of duty and hindrance at Keddah

3d. Runaway slaves on both sides to be restored.

4th. Debtors on both sides to be delivered up to their creditors.

5th. No Europeans except British to be allowed to settle in Keddah.

6th. Rebels and traitors of Keddah shall not be protected at Penang or the country.

7th. Murderers on either side escaping, to be returned by either party and given up.

8th. Forgers of Chops also to be returned and given up.

9th. Enemies of the English not to be supplied by the Rajah with provisions.

this year to demand the aid of two vessels loaded with rice to be used in the war then prosecuting by it against Ava. This modest request was refused, but the merchants of the port were not prohibited from exporting rice to Ava.

For an account of the events here alluded to, see Factory Records, Straits Settlements, vol. 5.

The Siamese were complimented with a present of some iron and nails.

The Home Government in the mean time had resolved that no offensive and defensive alliance should be made with the Rajah of Keddah.

English and Keddah.

Affairs at Penang now advanced in a smoother current. Captain Light died about the latter part of 1794 and was succeeded by Major Kyd temporarily.

Although the acts of Captain Light did not [? evince] apprehensive and forecasting views, there can be no doubt that he was a man of sound sense and judgment, and that he was cool, practical, moderate and active. His choice of Penang in preference to the Andaman Islands, which had been strongly recommended in other quarters for a settlement, evinces his local knowledge and tact. The Andamans had been placed, during seven successive years, under the direction of able men, and no expense had been spared to strengthen them in their infancy, yet none of the advantages expected from them had been realized, and they were abandoned. Penang on the contrary, as Singapore has since done, and as other positions for entrepôts of trade may perhaps yet do in the China Seas and the Eastern Islands, rose rapidly and almost of its own accord into importance(a). Mr. Mannington

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(a). During Captain Light's and successive governments numerous and conflicting opinions regarding the best mode of disposing of land were acted on, the consequence of which has been that with the partial exception of Province Wellesley the present state of the landed tenures is most perplexing. A regular system, at least as regular as circumstances would admit of, has been rigidly followed, and it is to be hoped with equal

succeeded Major Kyd (October 1794), and soon after (November 1795) Mr. Pigou took the place of the former (a).

Conduct of the Raja.

We have now to notice an occurrence on which the conduct of the Raja of Keddah was such as to have justified the British in not only withdrawing from him their friendship but in holding possession of the Island without paying one dollar in compensation.

Keddah intrigues with the French.

In 1796 the French fleets were cruizing in the Indian Seas. When the Raja of Keddah learned that they were approaching the Straits, his hope revived of making them his instruments for expelling the English. So eager was he to effect his object that before he could have arranged any thing with the French Admiral he shut the Port of Keddah against Penang. The Rajah was calmly remonstrated with regarding this sudden breach of a treaty which had now existed for five years. The Rajah replied that the terms were too hard, but he would send a vakeel to *explain* the 2d Article, and to arrange about a new treaty. The Superintendent termed this conduct "Artillery," * yet if it be fairly viewed the epithet would seem to be overstrained. The Rajah's former behaviour ought to have made it plain that he entered into the treaty because he could not well avoid doing so, after having in

* *sic.*

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advantage to the revenue and the general prosperity. Short tenures, modified tenures with arbitrary clauses, leases of grants in perpetuity, have all been resorted to. Major McDonald and others would have restricted the descent of lands, belonging to Europeans, to their lineal descendants and have debarred them the privilege of leaving it by will. It does appear that whatever prosperity may now be apparent in the Island and Province Wellesly has been almost solely owing to the largest portion of the lands having been in perpetuity

(a). It may seem strange that the relations betwixt the British and the Keddah country, bearing reference to Siam, should be the most absorbing subjects for chronology, with the exception of trade which this paper does not embrace. Such is the fact.

a manner pledged himself to it; that he did so with the full intention of breaking the treaty at the first convenient occasion; and that instead of being villainous or treacherous, he had only done that which the British Government might have expected of him, and which in fact under similar circumstances any Native Prince would be ever ready to do when he should think he had made a bad bargain. The Raja certainly merited the negative praise of having taken few pains to conceal his enmity. Necessity, that arbiter to whom nations as well as individuals must bow, rendered it impossible with safety to the British who were then fast gaining ascendancy in the Indian Ocean to enter into territorial wars in support of the Rajah of Keddah, while the latter was not enlightened enough [? to perceive] that an insecure and hasty league with the French or Dutch would have hastened his ruin by leaving him in the end in the hands of the enraged Siamese or that the mere absence of the British would have led to the same result, while the Dutch would have occupied Keddah without remunerating him for it.

The Rajah's pretensions now rose rapidly and a faction in Penang, headed it should seem by two English merchants (Messrs Roebuck and Young) then intrigued with Keddah by reports of dark designs.* One of these last singularly enough, combined with a circumstance which was found on enquiry to be correct, that no two European gentlemen slept in one house.*

*(sic.) There seems to be an omission here.

Rajah of Keddah's demands.

1797. In the midst of these reports the Khug Minister arrived from Keddah bearing a letter from the Rajah to the Superintendent which he was to deliver on the following conditions only.

The principal servants of the Company were to go down to receive it and it was to be carried on a silver salver under an umbrella. The bearer of it was to

be conveyed in a carriage and the same honors were required to be paid to him as the High Admiral of Keddah was entitled to. The Arms of the deputation were not to be deposited as usual at the Custom House but to be worn publicly.

Such novel demands were resisted. The Chuliah or Khug would not disarm his party and it became requisite to humble him by placing a guard boat alongside of his prahu. This man then exhibited the prominent trait of his tribe, abjectness following arrogance. He carried the letter himself to the Superintendent, his followers being unaccused.* *sic.

This mighty packet contained merely a request to be paid an instalment of the compensation due to the Raja. The payment was refused until the Rajah should have adequately explained the cause of such unusual behaviour in his deputies. Messrs. Roebuck and Young meanwhile, being supported by the countenance of Messrs. Lindsay, Scott and others, screened from justice another Chuliah, who had defied Port Regulations and who had been found intriguing at Keddah. The example of insubordination being thus set by the European settlers, it was speedily imitated by the Chinese and other classes of natives in Penang, while to crown all the harbour was infested by pirates.

Chinese Character.

The Chinese are generally considered to be a peaceable race in the countries to which they have emigrated, yet several examples to the contrary are not wanting in the History of European settlements to the Eastward.

In their country they are notoriously prone to turbulence and probably they have good cause to be so. But they find such ample room in foreign colonies for the exercise of their industrious habits that the more congenial pursuit of gain serves greatly to check ambitious impulse.

They are a time-serving people, and unlike the Indo-Chinese tribes around them, they seem to be very deficient in imagination, and therefore less disposed than these are to give way to theoretical political impulses. Their understandings are pretty sure guides to their true interests, and they perceive at a glance that the latter and any assumption of political power in the countries where they have settled are things quite at variance with each other. But unwilling as they may be to turn Rulers, where nothing could be obtained to be put in competition with their mercantile gains, they do not seem at all averse to intrigue with one of two contending parties, or even with both, so that whatever be the result their interests may continue unaffected. It need not be added that the real leaning in such a case will be to the stronger party, although the weaker will be cajoled by promises and awed by supplies and arms, the sale of which at high profits they can easily effect. I have had personal opportunities of knowing this to be true. Keeping these traits in view as checks to an over confidence in Chinese political fidelity, it may be safely pronounced that as settlers they are sometimes eminently valuable in new countries on account of their unceasing and well directed industry, their enterprise as traders, their luxurious habits which swell the revenue by the consumption of taxable commodities, and lastly perhaps because their physical powers of endurance exceed those possessed by the Malays and other Indo-Chinese people.

Lieutt. Governor of Penang.

5th Sept. 1799. The Rajah of Keddah died in the summer of this year, and was succeeded by his brother (Chow Wang)(a) of Purlis who, two years subsequently, gave up the Government to his nephew Chow Pangeram (b).

(a). A Siamese title signifying Lord of the Fort.

(b). The present Ex-Raja, who received the above title from the Emperor of Siam when the latter bestowed on him the Government of Keddah.

The deceased Rajah's conduct having been such as to prevent the Superintendent sending him any compensation for the two years preceding this period up to 1800, the European Settlers at Penang had exhibited much turbulence of character.

14th March 1800. The Earl of Mornington in this year appointed Sir George Leith to be Lieutenant Governor of Penang and Mr. Phillips was nominated to be his secretary. Mr. Dickens was appointed Judge.

June 1800. Up to this period there seems to have been little or no intercourse betwixt Penang and the Tenasserim Coast. This last was then frequented by French privateers and frigates for the purpose of refitting, and not being there molested by British vessels of war it was found convenient by the French Commanders to carry in to that coast such English prizes as they made in the Bay. Mergui, from its sheltered and secluded harbour, was preferred to Tavoy River.

Tenasserim Coast.

But the whole of that coast had, from time immemorial, been contended for by the Siamese and Burmans, and the latter, although in possession, did not feel quite secure in it. The Chief of Mergui was not long in appreciating the true position of the British, and very sagaciously tried to penetrate into the Lieutenant Governor's future views by speciously offering to put the "Company in possession of Keddah and the Lancavy Islands if it was desired?" The Burmans would long before this time have taken both, had they been able, for themselves, and their object was to have the British as allies against Siam. This polite and rather absurd offer was of course rejected.

15th July 1800. In July 1800 Sir George Leith obtained from the then Rajah of Keddah for the sum of two thousand Spanish dollars a cession of a tract of land lying on the continent opposite to Penang. It was taken possession of, and the British colours were hoisted in it

Province Wellesley ceded.

after a regular salute on the 17th July of the same year and it received the name of Point Wellesley, which was subsequently changed to Province Wellesley, both names having been given in honour of the Marquess Wellesley. The motives for this acquisition were these. It strengthened the position of Penang on its flanks, and gave the English the entire command of the harbour. It also checked the resort of pirates to the harbour, and prevented the coast being a safe asylum to every offender who might escape from Penang.

It held out the prospect, since realized, of rendering Penang independent of Keddah for supplies, and it offered a place of refuge to any oppressed races in the vicinity.

As I have fully described the present condition of this fertile tract of country in a late work (a) it would be unnecessary to enlarge further regarding it in this place. But a few observations are required regarding its boundaries.

Boundaries of Province Wellesley.

The Honble. Colonel Bannerman when Governor, and just before the Rajah was expelled from his country in 1821, sent to the latter to try and obtain an advanced boundary up to the north bank of Marbow River on the north, but without effect.

The Honble. Mr. Fullerton, contemplating the retention of Keddah by the Siamese, was of opinion that an accession of territory as stated by Mr. Crawfurd might be advantageous (up to the mountains) by interposing a greater portion of hill and forest between us and the Siamese. Great no doubt would be the advantage of some extension. The experience of twenty years however has shown that while our relations with Siam continue as they are, extension

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(a). A Dissertation on Penang and Province Wellesley, Singapore and Malacca by Captain James Low.

would not be so advantageous as above stated. It would only remove the evils which exist, and which would under any circumstances exist, to a greater distance. But to countervail this advantage, there would be the positive mischiefs of a dispersing locomotive population, requiring larger civil and judicial establishments and a wider frontier to look after. When by the increase of population in Penang and Province Wellesley a large body of the inhabitants will be prepared, if not forced, to emigrate to other countries, it will then become a matter for consideration whether an accession of territory can be obtained. There can be no doubt as to the tract which should be obtained. The boundaries of the Province might then be as follow, North and including Goonong Jerrie, and then East in a direct line to the Patani Pass, from the sea South by the Korow River, or if not, by the Krean, and from the sea by either of these rivers up to the Patani Hills and on the East by the Patani Hills.

(Spices introduced.

Penang and the Dutch.

[Four pages are here omitted as having no reference to Siam.]

Bugeese Boats.)

Treaties.

Sir George Leith entered into a new treaty with the Raja, which the Supreme Government ratified after remarking "that it should have been submitted in the first instance for approval." An examination of the articles will show that this animadversion was well merited. *

All discussion having thus been brought to a close, the affairs of the new settlement went on more regularly and nothing of deep moment seems to have occurred until the year 1810, when Lord Minto reached Penang with part of the force destined to capture Java from the Dutch. This was the first time

Java.

* The articles of this treaty and Low's comments thereon are here omitted.]

that the advantages of the new position became particularly apparent, not only as regarded supplies but in respect to political and hostile movements in a direction when we had any advanced posts at which to rendezvous troops destined for an attack, or on which such troops, unsuccessful, could easily fall back. The expedition to China has since been the second great event of the same kind to the furtherance of which the Straits Settlements have greatly aided.

Keddah politics and treaties.

The then Rajah of Keddah did not neglect the opportunity thus offered to inflict on his Lordship a very long recapitulation in writing of all his own former demands, grievances, and alleged Siamese oppressions.

23d. April 1810.

(See Fac. Rec., Str. Settlements, vol. 30.)

He had in the preceding April addressed a long letter of a similar nature to Mr. Bruce, in which he remarked that the "Keddah Country being small and situated in the vicinity of the extensive kingdom of Siam it has been the custom from time immemorial to send the tributary presents of golden and silver flowers to Siam once in three years."

June 1810.

The expedition to the Moluccas and Banda took place at this time.

10th Jany. 1811.

(See as above.)

In January 1811 the Keddah Rajah was required by the Siamese to furnish a contingent of one hundred perfectly equipped and manned boats to assist them against the Burmese. On this occasion he addressed the Government of Prince of Wales Island and observed that "submission to the Siamese is the only mode left to me for preserving peace." He asked also for an advance of 10,000 Spanish Dollars.

Keddah, Ava and Siam.

About the same period the Emperor of Ava wrote to the Governor stating that in former times the Rajahs of "Purlis and Keddah did homage to him by presentation of gold and silver flowers and that these countries were considered dependencies of Ava," and

he further requested that the English would assist the Rajah of Keddah against the Siamese.

This claim on Keddah was evidently got up through the instrumentality of the Rajah himself, and it does not apppear to have had any foundation by right or precedent, yet it is as well that it should be recorded, for the Indo-Chinese nations never absolutely forego claims which they have made, unless by treaty. The Rajah, finding that this ruse failed, tried to work on the feelings and apprehensions of the Governor of Penang by observing that the Siamese are numerous and consider themselves superior to every other people, should they even not attack Penang.* Yet had Keddah been fairly absorbed into the Siamese Empire at the period or soon after the period at which the Rajah thus expressed himself, the Province would no doubt have been distressed for some ordinary supplies for a season or two, but it is evident that the advantages of increase [of] population and cultivation derived to Penang and Province Wellesley by the subjugation of Keddah long after, would have been in the case supposed, much earlier realized.

Keddah Politics.

** (sic.)*

It can scarcely be doubted also that the Siamese would have behaved intemperately after their conquest, owing to the slight knowledge they then had of British power, and that it would have been requisite to have given them a wholesome practical experience of its effects. Such a lesson might have have been a bar to their progress southward. In 1812 Mr. Petrie was appointed Governor. On the 29th July of the same year a great fire destroyed property estimated at five lacs of dollars. In the same month the naval station at Penang was broken up.

1812.

1813.
Penang, Keddah, Perak.

In 1813 the Siamese obliged the Rajah of Keddah to assist them in attacking Perak. This was an un-

provoked and unprincipled aggression, and the Perak people have not forgiven the people of Keddah the part they took in it, although the latter pretended that their co-operation was compulsory. But where plunder was to be had we may doubt of this moderation of sentiment.

Keddah Politics.

At this period the extension of the Siamese power to the southward of Penang was considered by the Supreme Government to be an evil, for it was recorded by the Governor General in Council that "he was by no means indifferent to the Welfare of the territory of Keddah, and would perceive with great regret their subjugation to the Siamese power. His Excellency in Council is no less impressed with the conviction of the undesirable consequences likely to result from the extension of that power to the vicinity of Malacca by the conquest of Perak. The King of Keddah should not renounce his vassalage to Siam. The British Government may mediate in so far as no compromise of its character may be made or any ambitious motive betrayed. The nature and extent of the Rajah's services to Siam may be adjusted by British mediation." Sir George Cooper became Recorder in 1817.

Perak.

The Perak Chiefs signify about this time [their] desire to be free of Siamese interference.* The population of this territory was then estimated at 10,000 persons.

* *See Fact. Records, Straits Sett: vol. 45.*

24th Nov. 1817. Colonel Bannerman was appointed Governor.

6th Sept. 1818. Colonel Farquhar proposed to settle the Cannion Islands in the Straits.

After a long cessation of intercourse with Siam a communication was at length opened* and the Siamese Court professed its readiness to permit English vessels to trade either at Bankok or Ligor.

* *See as above, vol. 66.*

24th Sept. 1818. Malacca was now transferred to the Dutch under the distinct intimation to them by Major Farquhar that

Dutch Intrigues. Naning was its only dependency. But soon after this they forced the Rajahs of Rhio and Lingin to admit their troops into the former settlement and to permit their colours to fly at Lingin, Pahang and Johore. places where they were never before hoisted. They landed 500 men at Rhio. The Rajah was forced to surrender 1/3rd of his revenue and to give up the management of his trade into their hands. [The Dutch] thus virtually commanded the Straits.

From what has just been quoted it does not appear very obvious on what defensible grounds a request of the Rajah of Keddah was granted by the Penang authorities to the extent of supplying him 100 muskets and twenty barrels of gun powder to prosecute the attack on Perak. The Rajah of Perak, unconscious that any disposition to assist his enemies existed at Penang, addressed the chief authority there.* The letter upheld the character for ignorance which [the] Perak people then had, and which still, although less in degree, attaches itself to them. It contained a request for two ships of war, and two thousand Troops, one half to be Europeans!!

Perak.

* *See Factory Records, Straits Sett: vol. 67.*

The Raja, a Chief of 20,000 subjects, described himself as "he who holds the Royal Sword, and the dragon stand and the shell fish which come out of the sea which flowed from the Hill of Le Guntong." He offered also to sell the Dingding Islands for 2,000 Spanish dollars *to any one* or to let the Company have them for nothing. The same offer was made to the Envoy, Captain Low, [who] was deputed on a Political Mission to Perak in 1827. These Islands have not been inhabited since the Dutch left or were expelled from Perak, and as the Rajah and his successors have never ventured to occupy them, owing to their being infested by pirates, it is plain that it would be a most beneficial thing for Perak should any English station be formed there, while greater security would be given to the native trade in general.

The Raja likewise offered the monopoly of all the tin and rattans in his country for a yearly sum of 2,000 dollars, which supposing that he considered this a fair equivalent for the tax (of 6 drs. per bhar generally) on tin would admit of a yearly produce of 333 Bhars only. Yet the mines of Perak are very rich, almost inexhaustible.

Value at 50 d. per b. Ds. 16,650.

Reverting to the Perak Rajah, he offered elephants in exchange for gun powder, the former to be valued by the cubit, namely 60 dollars for one 6 feet high or one long cubit, and a large one from 600 to 900 dollars.

These requests were not then attended to, but the Supreme Government subsequently sanctioned the occupation of the Dingding Islands, which however never took place, nor does it appear why the intention to do so was not followed up.

October 1818.

The Fort of Penang was in want of repair and the sum of 50,000 drs. was estimated as the probable cost of repairs.

By an inscription found on the Fort of Malacca before it was demolished it appeared to have been built in 1743. In the beginning of 1819 the Dutch tried to establish a station on the Islands of Pankour or Dingding where they once had settled, but they were now unsuccessful.

Dutch Intrigues.

May 1819.

The Dutch now prosecuted operations at Perak and Salengore with the view to control these petty States, pretending that the English were their staunch friends. But on their failing to gain their ends the offer of the Rajah of Perak to give up the Island of Pankour to the British was accepted *conditionally*, but it was never occupied and continued annexed to Perak.

See as above, vol. 70.

Cholera.

The Cholera raged in the Settlement of Prince of Wales Island during about six weeks and the deaths were computed at not less than 1500.

8 Nov. 1818. Bishop Middleton visited Penang, he being the first Bishop.

In 1818 the Burmans attacked the Siamese dependency of Junk Ceylon, from which they were shortly after expelled with great slaughter. The Burmese force (if the account given to me by the Tavoy Chiefs soon after the British conquest of Tenasserim be correct) consisted of 10,000 men. The Siamese called on Rajah of Keddah for his contingent of troops on this occasion, and 100 boats manned by about 2,500 men were supplied.

The Raja just before this happened had been asked by the Governor, the Honble. Colonel Bannerman, to cede, for an adequate consideration, a small addition of territory on the Coast and bounding Province Wellesley, in order to secure a better frontier. This request he refused although it would have strengthened his position.

Keddah Politics.

But although I cannot find the letter, it is not the less notorious, that [he] assigned as his reason to the deputation for non-compliance, that Keddah formed part of Siam. Messrs. Cracroft and Caunter were the persons sent to negotiate, and so offensive was the way in which the reply was couched that they left Keddah without waiting for the usual formalities or taking leave of the Rajah. But when he was pressed, as above noticed, by the Siamese, he expressed his fear to the Penang Government, and the latter [? replied that in case he found himself] in danger he would find an asylum in Penang. But this Rajah (the present Ex-King) seems never to have acted on any fixed plan, and at the very moment when only submission could have saved him his conduct was so vascillating as to give umbrage to the Court of Siam. There is every reason to suppose also that he entered secretly into a confederacy headed by the Patani Chiefs for the purpose of ravaging Lower Siam, while

the Siamese troops should be engaged at a distance in operations against the Burmans, for about this time the Raja advanced to the Me Nam or River of Siam and the rivers of Ligor and Chainga. After these movements the confederate troops would be joined by the Burmese. The Cambojan added that his own force (it was no doubt exaggerated) would be forty thousand men, besides Malayan Rajas, his relatives and their followers. He concluded by avowing his inability to contend with Siam.

Missions.

As this Chief's wishes could not be acceded to, no more was heard of his intentions. Mr. Phillips proposed at this time a Political and Commercial Mission to the Ports of the Burmese Empire.

Mr. Sartorious was deputed in this year to Achin to report on affairs there. He died on his way back of the deadly fever of the Sumatra coast, deeply regretted.

Mr. Ibbetson's Mission.

30th Septr. 1820.

This Mission was undertaken with the view of forming alliances of a commercial nature with the petty Rajas on the east coast of Sumatra, and for the suppression of piracy. The main objects however failed, but as the Honble. Mr. Phillips expressed, not from any deficiency in the means provided for the accomplishment of these objects, nor from any fault of the gentlemen entrusted with the duty. . . *

(The omitted portion refers only to Sumatra.)*

1821 Siamese and Keddah.

At length, in January 1821, the Honble. the Governor of Penang acquainted the Raja of Keddah that the Emperor of Siam was preparing to attack him with 6,000 (a) men and that [the] Burmans had declared war with Siam. The Raja was aware of the intended

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(a). From the Districts or Provinces of Ligor, Daloong, Chaiya and Sangor, the supplies received by Penang from Keddah at this period were:—

1,000 Coyans of Paddy
60,000 Fowls
20,000 Ducks
} Valued at 80,000 dollars.

attack for he readily replied by the subterfuge that "an epidemic had delayed the tender of the usual gold and silver flowers to Siam," although with the sanction of the Raja of Ligor, and that the Siamese were glad of any pretext to revenge themselves for the occupation of Penang by the English by attacking him. He did not, notwithstanding all this, prepare for the impending event by arming his subjects, and it is probable that he deluded himself with the hope that the Burmese would assist them, while the latter, it may be presumed, had only made promises with the view of creating some diversion of the Siamese forces.

The Siamese attacked Keddah. 12th Novr. 1821.

On the 12th November 1821 the Raja of Ligor burst into Keddah with a force of seven thousand men. The Fort at the mouth of the Keddah River was taken on the 18th after a feeble defence, in which the Raja did not participate. He fled on an elephant accompanied by a part of his family, and a few adherents, towards that part of the coast opposite to Penang.

* *See Factory Records, Straits Sett : vol. 80.*

The Raja of Ligor soon acquainted Mr. Phillips with this event, and laid the blame on the Raja who had, he stated, misgoverned Keddah and had been contumacious, that he meditated flight to Siac, and that as a subject [of the] Siamese Government he had behaved in opposition to all former custom. He observed that on a former occasion, when the Raja's father had acted contumaciously, he had been forgiven, because he had repented of his conduct, and had presented himself at Court. Those who know the character of this Chief, now called the Ex-Raja, will be ready to admit that he was just as likely as otherwise to have doggedly and obstinately slighted the Court of Bankok to his own ruin, although he had been invested with his Government by the Emperor himself.

The Honble. the Governor, Mr. Phillips, dispatched a civil officer, Mr. Cracroft, to assure the Raja

that pending directions from the Supreme Government an asylum was open to him at Penang, as also to his dependents, should he choose to avail himself of it, but *under certain conditions.* These terms were that neither *he or any of his followers should intrigue or commit any political act without the approval of the British Government and that it would be exclusively optional with the Government to regulate the number of persons who should compose his family and suite.*

The Raja gladly accepted the offered protection, subject to these conditions. Indeed, had he not done so he must have fallen in a few days after the offer was made into the hands of the Siamese.

Ex-Rajah of Keddah.

The Ex-Rajah's difficulty was afterwards displayed. It is of some importance to note these conditions, for they were not only broken in defiance of the Government by the Raja himself, but seem to have been unaccountably forgotten when they might have been brought forward as good grounds for circumscribing the Raja's limits, instead of resorting to the plea of politic necessity, which last might have been kept in reserve. No sooner did the Raja feel himself safe than he wrote to the Governor claiming protection in all his affairs. He was, it may be remarked, lodged in the old Government House on the beach and was guarded by nearly the whole of the local Corps of Bengal Sepoys (a). This letter of the Raja was the commencement of a series of written requests, demands and petulant remonstrances or appeals (re-filed* too commonly in general terms) which have been reiterated periodically up to the present day. Mr. Phillips notwithstanding considerable opposition in his Council decided on neutral measures as consistent with the policy enjoined by the Supreme Government, namely not to encourage the Keddah Raja to

*sic.

Political condition of Keddah.

(a). Being in command of this Corps I had daily opportunities of studying the Raja's character.

attempt to release his country from its state of vassalage to Siam. On this occasion the term banditti was by some applied to the Siamese troops, although it was admitted that they had a right to enforce obedience on the Raja.

Rajah of Ligor's demands.

The Chow Phraya or Rajah of Ligor now addressed the Honble. the Governor by a letter in which he stated that he in conformity with the Emperor's order, had assumed the Government of Keddah, as the Raja had no confidence in Siam and had fled in the consciousness of having committed many faults. "I have" (observed the Ligorian) "sent troops in quest of him: if it should be ascertained that the Raja of any country whatever has received and harboured the Raja (a) of Keddah, a large army will be sent to attack it and carry the Raja away by all possible means. He is no longer a Rajah or Governor and the Emperor will appoint a Siamese to be Raja of Keddah. If the Raja flies to Penang let no one hold intercourse with him, let him be seized by the Governor and delivered up to me, for I am now at Keddah which is near to Penang with a large force, and should my friend refuse to deliver up the Raja to me, then friendly relations will be broken and commercial intercourse will cease." He invited Mr. Phillips to go and settle matters amicably at Keddah.

To this vaunting and insolent declaration a firm reply was made which prevented a repetition of it, yet had the British taken the vain-glorious but clever semi-barbarian at his word, and forthwith marched a force against him, he would have had ample cause to repent of his temerity. The Governor calmly replied that it was not customary for the British Government to deny hospitality to an ally and friend, and that confident in its own strength and power it never was in the habit or receiving or using, in its correspon-

(a). Chow Phraya in the original, viz. "Governor."

dence with neighbouring States, any unavailing threats or expressions.

This reply was objected to by the Council as not being strong enough when opposed to direct declaration of war, but it was certainly a dignified and perfectly effective one in the end.

The Rajah had been only a few days in Penang when fifteen Siamese boats stealthily reached the mouth of the Pry river in Province Wellesley. The Ligorian, supposing that the fugitive Rajah was at Kotah up this river, thought to surprise him.

A Jemadar's party, however, of Local Corps, stationed at the Pry mouth turned out to oppose their progress and the Armed Vessel Nautilus then quietly led them out of the harbour and dismissed them. Nearly at the same time a marauding party of Siamese passed the northern boundary of the Province and committed some irregularities, but a Company of Sepoys under Captain Crook forced them back without bloodshed. The Ligorian was warned that such conduct by his people in future would be decidedly noticed.

Siamese occupatio of Perak.

The Chow Phraya of Ligor, while the terror inspired by his sudden conquest was being spread among the countries to the southward, sent an expedition to Perak (a), which made no resistance to his occupation of it.

Mr. Timmerman Typen, one of the most enlightened official men ever sent out by the Dutch Government, obligingly offered to the Penang Government every aid he could afford for checking Siamese ambition. No doubt, as Malacca was then a Dutch possession, His Excellency did not view the approach of

(a). The Malayan State which is separated from the British territory by the Krean River.

the Siamese to his frontier as an event devoid of danger to that Settlement. The tide of emigration from Keddah now rolled rapidly into Province Wellesley and steps were immediately taken to locate the refugees.

December 1821.

Mission to Siam.

In 1821 (a) Mr. Crawfurd was deputed by the Right Honble. the Governor General to negociate with Siam for certain commercial arrangements and collaterally to endeavour to effect the restoration of the Rajah of Keddah to his Government. Mr. Phillips, on the arrival of Mr. Crawfurd at Penang, recorded his opinion of the advantages which would be gained by opening the whole trade of the Peninsula; keeping the Siamese at a proper distance and securing supplies from Keddah for Penang, all of which advantages excepting the second (if it really now be one of much moment) have been gained since without Keddah being restored.

Province Wellesley.

Mr. Phillips suggested the good which might be derived by extending Province Wellesley to the limits proposed by Colonel Bannerman.

I have already discussed this subject. With the then scanty population of Province Wellesley, extension was not to be desired to any considerable degree, yet looking to the present condition of the Province, which I have elsewhere described at length, and to the events which the future will inevitably call forth, it is perhaps to be regretted that these proposed.* The Siamese are so tenacious that it might be very difficult, perhaps impossible, without giving a most unequal return for it, to obtain *now* any further cession of territory.

** There is evidently an omission here.*

31st Dec. 1821.

** See Factory Records, Straits Sett : vol. 84.*

The Supreme Government in a dispatch to the Penang Government pointed out the future policy to be used towards the Siamese.

(a). In 1821 the Southern Hills of Penang were cleared to a great extent and planted with [? coffee], since then, the coffee not proving remunerative, spice trees were substituted.

Political relations with Keddah.

"The former instructions of this Government regarding the limited degree in which it appeared to be desirable to interfere in favor of the Rajah of Keddah *whose dependence on Siam we have recognized*, are considered to be still applicable to the present state of

11th Jan. 1822.

(See Fac. Rec. Str. Sett: vol. 84.)

affairs, and are to be a rule of conduct for the government of Penang in any political transactions with these States (Keddah and Siam)" and again, "the Ex Rajah will have an Allowance (in place of the gratuity) of 10,000 Spanish dollars."

The uncle of the Ex-King, the Rajah of Purlis, Sultan Sleadin Mokurrum Shah, instigated and deceived, no doubt, if not forced by the Siamese addressed a letter to the Governor of Penang* in which he urged him to advise his nephew to return to Keddah, alleging that the Siamese had forgiven his numerous offences and that he himself (the Rajah of Purlis) was in the mean time exercising the powers of the Keddah Government. This last expression was alone sufficient to excite strong suspicion of the intentions of the Siamese, and the letter was therefore not attended to.

(Jan. 1822. See as above.)*

26 April 1822.

(See as above, vol. 85.)

This suspicion was turned into certainty, for this same Siamese Pageant soon after wrote to the Governor requesting to have the rent of 10,000 dollars payable

Demands of the Siamese.

by the English for Penang. The Ligorian at the same time wrote to back this demand, and forgetting that he had before affirmed that a Siamese Governor "would be placed over Keddah" he asserted that the old Rajah of Purlis had been installed in the Government. He added that having the Emperor's Orders to arrange every subject connected with Keddah he could not, were he willing to, refrain from this demand. About this time it was reported that

April and May 1822.

(See as above, vol. 85.)

the Ligorian had prepared 7,000 men to attack Penang, but the project, if ever it had been seriously entertained, was abandoned. The demand was rejected.

Pledge to Ligorian and Ex-Rajah's Intrigues.

The Honble. Mr. Phillips, the Governor, now gave a guarantee to the Ligorian that so long as the

Ex Raja of Keddah should continue at Penang he would not be permitted to wage war on the Siamese nor stores be allowed to go to people fighting against the Siamese in Keddah.

This promise afterwards became part of one of the Articles in the Treaty of Bankok. If the Ex Rajah had been personally enterprizing, this stipulation might have been attended with vexatious or even embarrassing results. Vexatious ones only have fortunately been experienced. Placed in security he commenced intriguing with the Burmese, and finding them willing auxilliaries, in professions at least, he imagined that the knowledge of this fact would induce the British Government to espouse his cause. The Myoowoon at Tavoy had written to the Rajah to dispatch envoys to the Emperor to request of him the assistance of a Burmese Army for the purpose of recovering his (the Rajah's) lost power. He added that five thousand men could immediately march from Tavoy. The Ex Rajah was dissuaded by his own party, it is supposed, from his rash determination to enter will* plat. The circumstance is chiefly deserving of notice here, as it fully discloses the ambitious aims of the Court of Ava at a time when there can be hardly a doubt that it meditated that aggression on the British Power which not long after led to the Burmese War. The correspondence alluded to, if known to the Siamese which it probably was(a), could not fail to make the Ex Rajah's case almost hopeless, yet with the duplicity so congenial to his disposition, the Ligorian soon after told Captain Burney, who was sent to confer with him at Keddah, that he was ready to receive back the Ex Chief in a manner favorable to him, and to take him to the Court of Bankok and at the same time be engaged that no harm should befall him. The Ex Rajah wisely perhaps distrusted and

* *sic.*

(a). His previous intrigues with Ava were known to that nation (the Siamese).

rejected this proposition and remained in Penang. He could not fail to recollect that the Court of Bankok never forgets disrespectful conduct shown towards it by any of its Governors, Tributaries or subordinate Chiefs. Much less perhaps could he expect it [to] forgive his own conduct which was tinged with ingratitude. He could not have forgotten that upon the decease of his father, the former Raja, his succession had been disputed by [a] younger brother Bosnoo, the latter having been taken to the Siamese Court and presented to the Emperor by the Rajah of Sangora; that much blood had been shed on the occasion(a), and that Tuankee Ibrahim, a Chief of Keddah, had also gone to the Court to solicit the Government and had been warmly seconded by the Rajah of Ligor. He should have remembered that notwithstanding all his intrigues the Emperor installed him in his father's dignities, but under a solemn pledge that he, the Pangeram(b), should bury all the animosity he might feel against those who had disputed his claims, and he must have remembered that he forfeited this pledge by persecuting these his former opponents; that he gave much trouble in consequence to the Siamese, and finally that by his cruel tyranny, folly and misrule he had given to the Emperor abundant cause to regret his selection of him to be the *Chow Phraya Srai* or Lord Governor over Keddah. And it would have been well had he considered that these his own acts and the consenting to receive his power from the Siamese Court were fatal to his own claims of independence.

Ex Rajah's imprudence.

April 1822. * Mr. Crawfurd's Mission.

When the Phraya of Ligor heard that Mr. Crawfurd was on his way to Siam he told Captain Burney that "the Governor of Penang would find that his best course for negotiating with the Court of Siam would

**(See Fac. Rec., Str. Settlements, vol. 86.)*

(a). The Siamese alleged that the population of Keddah had lost nearly 20,000 souls.

(b). Chow Pangeram—the title he received from the Emperor of Siam when installed in the Keddah Government.

be through him, as many of the offices at Court were held by his relatives."

This speech turned out to be vain boast, for the negotiations which afterwards took place both by Mr. Crawfurd and Captain Burney only rendered the Rajah of Keddah's cause more desperate. The truth was, the Chow Phraya of Ligor knew well that the temper of the Court was so adverse to the Raja's claims, that even without him these would be rejected. But he was too practised a dissembler to let it appear that he himself would use whatever influence he might possess, and much he undoubtedly had at Court, to thwart the Rajah of Keddah's views, and to get that country into his own management and for the advantage of his own family.

As commonly happens amongst the unthinking part of a community the crimes and faults of an Ex Chief are underlaid by a false compassion and it has even been asked why the private character of a Native Chief should be considered in negotiating with him. It might not be difficult to show that negotiations with Malayan or Indo-Chinese Princes, can only be entered into with a full persuasion on their part of the superior power of the British, accompanied by a determination to stand aloof from its direct effects by exertion of cunning, while the British negotiator cannot fail to be aware that independent of the barbarism of the individual State, and its attendant treachery and cruelty, the only security he has for the performance of obligations must rest principally upon the private character of the then Ruler, and that in despotic countries there is hardly room to draw any distinction between the private and public character of such Ruler. The Burmese and Siamese are unwilling slaves of unflinching and hereditary despotisms [which] are well planned, cautiously worked according to the feelings, fears and superstitions of the mass of the people, so as to just strike the line betwixt

Burmese, Siamese and Malays.

discontent and rebellion, and they are in their way effective for all the ends of Government except one, the happiness, including full security of life and property, of the subject, as opposed to the mere will of the Ruler. The Malays on the other hand are willing slaves under their own despotic Rajahs, and they patiently if not unrepiningly endure every species of tyranny and degradation from them, one half of which oppressions only, were they inflicted upon them by an European Government, would drive them into rebellion, or cause them to emigrate. In fine no preconceived opinions or knowledge of European policy will enable us to gauge and analyse that of an Indo-Chinese region, where manners, feelings, hereditary disposition, physical and moral, are all at variance with such knowledge, where these various wants, either real, or which are the offspring of civilization, and which in colder climes come under or exert but a feeble influence, and where an apparently insuperable chasm is opposed to the advance of humanizing arts and sciences, by the absence of that same necessity.

Malayan States.

13 June 1822. July 1822.

On this date Mr. Phillips' Minute was written regarding the Sooloo Islands, quoting Sir Stamford Raffles' opinion that the ceded territory in Borneo should be occupied.(a) The Rajah of Calantan a small [?district] on the Gulf of Siam wrote about this time to the Honble. Mr. Phillips the Governor stating that as he could no longer endure the oppressions of the Siamese he wished to give up his country to the Governor of Bengal, and to receive in return *one half of the revenues*.

Calantan.

Letter sent to the Supreme Government 27 Sep. 1822.

But the Supreme Government declined interfering with this State, because it was, like Keddah, tributary to Siam. Were the revenue of Calantan to be analysed it might perhaps appear that the Raja would have made a good bargain had his offer been accepted,

(a) This proposition was owing to an attack made on the Sea Flower by Pirates.

for it is greatly to be doubted if the whole of the revenues would have defrayed one half of the expense which the occupation, subsidiarily or otherwise, would have entailed(a).

12 July 1822.
(See Fac. Rec., Str. Sett: col. 87.)

About this period the Raja of Ligor acquainted the Court of Bangkok that the English and Siamese were at peace and that the Governor General of Bengal had directed the Penang Government to recognise Keddah as a tributary of Siam. Without doubt the Siamese considered this a vital point gained. About this period also a curious circumstance occurred at Siam, which showed at least that the Siamese had not as yet betrayed any want of confidence in their hitherto vaunted importance. Two merchants, Messrs. Storm and Smith, had, it seemed, presented a white horse to the Emperor which was at the time accepted, but shortly afterwards the animal was sent back to them because astrologers had pronounced it an unlucky one, and as it was otherwise of little value.* Feeling themselves, as they thought, insulted, they very unwisely, inconsiderately, and it may be thought culpably, killed the horse and threw it into the boat in presence of the messengers (of some rank) who had brought it, and at a spot which was within the precincts or purlieus of the Palace.

Siamese Law

** See Fact. Records, Straits Sett: vol. 87. for an account of this incident.*

Treatment of two merchants.

They were both soon seized, put in irons and incarcerated for several days, during which they were inhumanly treated to the length it was alleged of being partially scalped. There could, rightly considered, have been no insult in royalty returning a horse so circumstanced. On the other hand their asserted* insult, which policy should have prevented, was a palpable one, not only to the Emperor but to the national religion, which forbids the shedding of blood anywhere. That the Siamese did not inflict the full penalty of the

** sic.*

(a) About this time piracies were reported to have taken place in the vicinity of the Nicobars.

law on those gentlemen, which to a Siamese of the highest rank would have been death, was owing to the remonstrances of the British Envoy and the merchants, who represented that the parties were ignorant of Siamese customs.

Mission to Siam.

When the Ex Raja learned the unsuccessful result as regarded himself of Mr. Crawfurd's Mission, he intimated that he would remove to Salengore, but the Governor dissuaded him from this measure, which however was left optional with the Raja. Shortly afterwards an insurrection of the Malays of Purlis in the Keddah [?district] having placed the former district again in the hands of the Malays, the Ex Rajah made a request that he might be allowed to go there. In reply he was informed that he resided under the British protection* to act in any manner in hostility towards the Siamese; that he might go to Purlis, but if he did go he could never again be recognised in any other light than as a private individual.

*An omission occurs here.

The Supreme Government sanctioned this decision and directed that should the Ex Rajah persist in his hostile schemes he would not be allowed "to return, the British protection would be withdrawn from him, and his allowance stopped and never be restored." The Ex Rajah was too pusillanimous to have headed such an expedition himself. But he soon showed how little he regarded the consequence [of] his opposition as above stated, by following up his original plans. Had the Ex Rajah, by thus defying the British Government, been removed at once to Malacca, much of the evils which [were] caused from his attacks on Keddah might have been prevented. Undoubtedly the forbearance shown towards him was more than is generally awarded any where to persons in his political situation. Yet have the newspapers and the press otherwise teemed with invectives against what has been designated the harsh treatment of the Ex Rajah.

Ex Rajah's Schemes.

28 April 1823.
(See Factory Records, Straits Sett: vol. 90.)

But to have placed any dependence on the Ex Rajah after the explicit declaration which follows and which was repeated in June 1830, would have been to say the least, only encouraging him in his proceedings. In return for the communication made to him, as above noticed, he declared he had suffered such exceeding disgrace that so long as he should live he could not be at rest [but] must persist in his endeavours to obtain the means of requiting the deeds of the Siamese, an evil race, having no regard for the servants of God. No doubt the Rajah would have felt less had "Islams" and not "Kafirs" invaded and taken Keddah. That he has kept his word will appear in the sequel.

28 April 1823.
(See as above.)

In the same month of April Tuanku Abdullah, one of the Rajah's sons, attacked Keddah by land with a force of three thousand men, chiefly subjects of the British Government. This ill-conducted enterprise was speedily baffled and defeated by a handful of Siamese. Abdullah's troops on this occasion plundered both friends and foes! The Ligorian remonstrated, and at* that the Ex Rajah had also urged his nephew Tuankee Din to invade Purlis (a). The reply to this communication was to this effect that it would be impossible "to put a stop to the Ex Rajah's proceedings unless the British Government were to use measures equally severe with those employed by the Siamese in like emergencies, and which it never can or will do." Such sentiments were not calculated to remove the suspicions of the Siamese that the Penang Authorities were encouraging the Ex King in his attempts to molest them, and these sentiments certainly deviated in a slight degree from those so repeatedly

* *sic.? stated.*

Malayan attack on Keddah.

(a). The Siamese while remonstrating in such strains were themselves at the very time harbouring a notorious pirate "Pakirsa" who up to the present day (1836) has been protected by them in spite of constant representations to them by the local authority of Penang of his piracies and murders.

expressed by the Supreme Government. The cause of the discrepancy may be traced to the minority in the
27 Jan. 1824. Council on this subject, in which Mr. Phillips found himself placed.

The Supreme Government, in alluding to a false alarm which had been industriously fomented at Penang that the Siamese were coming to attack it, observed that the former policy respecting Keddah should be strictly adhered to, that the occurrence of a state of hostility with the Siamese nation was to be deprecated as an evil of very serious magnitude, which, far from seeking by undertaking operations for the restoration of the unfortunate King of Keddah, should
Policy regarding Keddah. be averted by their exercise of every degree of temper, address, forbearance and moderation compatible with the honour and character of the British Government; and perseverance in this line of policy was declared to be not the less incumbent on the Penang Government under very strong circumstances of aggression and provocation. In such extreme cases a blockade or even punishment by landing a party of men might be adopted.

The Burmese war was now close at hand and however inveterate that people might be against the
Burmese Intrigues. Siamese there can be no doubt that the Court of Ava made strong overtures to that of Bankok to bury their mutual animosities for a while in oblivion, and to join with it in arresting the growing power of the British. The Siamese Court wisely avoided the tempting bait, no doubt under the belief that a cautious neutrality would extract benefit from both the belligerents. I of course assume that the Siamese refusal to co-operate had been given previous to the intrigues which the Burmese again carried on with the Ex Rajah and others, as now to be noticed.

The Court of Ava finding itself on the brink of a war with the British employed the Myoowoon or Governor of Tavoy as its secret agent in negotiating

a league in the Malayan Peninsula against the Siamese Power. The Court hoped doubtless by this manœuvre to prevent the Siamese from joining the British in attacking Ava, by rendering it necessary for them to send their forces southward, and if possible to bring the British and Siamese into collision, and thus weaken the aggressive means of the former; or if these objects should fail to gain the neutrality of the Siamese by arousing their suspicions of the intentions of the British towards them.

1824.

The Myoowoon accordingly wrote letters to the old Raja of Purlis in Keddah, to the Ex Raja of Keddah, and to the Rajahs of Perak, Salengore and Patani, urging them to co-operate with the Burmese against the Siamese for the purpose of re-instating the Ex Rajah. The letters were accompanied by presents of gold umbrellas and horse trappings.

Letter received Feb. 1824--no date.

(See Fac. Rec. Str. Sett: vol. 94.)

In the letter to the Ex Rajah the Myoowoon declared that "the Emperor of Ava would, when the proposed scheme had been matured, restore him to his Government, and take the other liberated States under his *protection*." The receipt at Court of a clock, which the Ex Rajah had sent as a present, was also acknowledged in this letter, and it was concluded in these words how the King of Keddah with a candid mind desires to become tributary to the golden palace; the great Emperor will therefore protect and cherish him, his children and descendants to the remotest degree.

Burmese Schemes.

It is doubtful if the Burmese Court intended anything by these intrigues but merely to create a diversion of the two powers alluded to, yet, had she got possession of Junk Ceylon—the distance from thence to the Keddah territory being only a day's run —no obstacle would have been opposed to the descent on it. In such an event the Ex Rajah would have joined the invaders with half the population of Penang and Province Wellesley!!!

The Penang Government forwarded a copy of this (the Emperor of Ava's) letter to the Ligorean, in the hope that it would intimidate him into a recognition of the Ex King's claims. It may be fairly questioned if this perhaps premature measure did not tend to fully convince that Chief, that the British were abetting the whole intrigue. It was also attended with other evil consequences, for the Malyan States who had been tampered with were thereby betrayed to the Siamese, and marked accordingly for a full measure of vengeance, when the opportunity should arise. It also irritated the Siamese still more against the Ex Rajah. The only good effect it could have had, and probably really had, was to exasperate the Siamese still more against their ancient enemies the Burmans, thereby securing at least, although unconsciously to the British Local Government at the time, their neutrality in the approaching contest, but not their co-operation.

10 June 1824.

So long as the Ex Rajah was living under British protection there could have been no excuse for these intrigues with Ava. The Supreme Government pronounced them to be improper and unjustifiable. Had not the Burmese War quickly interposed itself (a) the vicinity of Penang might have been made the field of a most barbarous contest betwixt two implacable races, and in which neither the British nor the Malayas would have found it an easy thing to have remained neutral.

CHAPTER II.

Achin.

[This chapter deals exclusively with Achin, and has no connection with Siam. It is therefore here omitted.]

(a). Tavoy fell on the 9th September 1824, Mergui on the 6th October 1824.

CHAPTER III.

Burmese War.

and

Events connected with it.

1824. In 1824 war was declared by the British against Ava. Just before this happened several envoys from the Myoowoon or Burman Governor of Tavoy reached Penang under the pretext of negotiating some commercial arrangements with the Government there. That these men were also commissioned to tamper with the Ex Rajah of Keddah and the Malayan Rajahs on the Peninsula can hardly be questioned. But they came rather too late and might have been detained as prisoners. They were however sent back with a convoy to Tavoy and it is believed that this treatment, combined with what they had seen at a review of the troops at Penang, hastened the delivering up of Tavoy to the British detachment which went gainst it.

Burmese War.

The Supreme Government had directed the Local Government at Penang to endeavour to obtain the co-operation of the Siamese in the Burman War to the extent of supplying elephants, draft cattle and boats. A public envoy was therefore dispatched to the Rajah of Ligor, the then Governor of the principal southern provinces of Siam (a). He was however after a tedious negotiation of three months compelled to return without effecting the main object, although an opportunity was afforded for explaining to the Siamese the cause and probable results of the war.

Instructions dated 26 April 1824.

(a). Report by Lieut. Low of his Mission to the Rajah of Ligor, dated Trang 1st August 1824.

It was found impossible to remove the suspicions, which haunted the Siamese of the sincerity of the British and which did not leave them till the war had terminated.

The self-love of the Court of Bankok was piqued at the confidence of success in the approaching war manifested by the British Government, and that too in a contest with a nation which had ever proved a vigorous if not dreaded rival of the Siamese.

The Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, when notifying to the Penang Government that war had been declared against Ava, signified that it was in contemplation to take possession of Junk Ceylon, it being a Burman island. The mistake as to the ownership of this island arose from the repeated suggestions which had been made both by Government servants and traders, of the advantage which the British would derive by the acquisition of this island, while at the same time the fact that it was a Siamese possession was, it should seem, kept out of view by the suggestors (a).

CHAPTER IV.

Mission to the Ligor Rajah in 1824.

In September a letter reached the Prince of Wales Island Government from Major Cumming, the Agent at Rangoon of the Right Honble. the Governor General, stating that it was wished that the co-operation of a Siamese army should be obtained, as numerous as they might be disposed to furnish, to

(a). The Honble. Mr. Phillips, the Governor, was assured by Lieut. Low, the envoy, that the latter was the fact and [? the Governor] immediately reported it to Bengal and when the mission proceeded to Junk Ceylon [on] its way to Phoonga that fact was fully confirmed.

join in invading the Burmese territory but to be subject to the general disposal of the British Commander. Tenasserim, when taken, to be held by the Siamese, but to be evacuated by them on the termination of the war. No dismemberment of the Burmese Government to be stated as in contemplation. Elephants and draft cattle would be, if possible, obtained.

A letter was addressed to the Rajah of Ligor by the Governor and soon after forwarded by me to him, informing him that an English officer had been deputed to him by the Governor of Penang, to make some very important communications.

Abstract of Lieut. Low's Report.

On reaching Keddah the Siamese Chief there was apprized of the important subject to be communicated by me to the Rajah of Ligor. He was presented with a copy of my credentials and the original was shown to him and he was requested to furnish a passport and carriage to Ligor. He replied that compliance with this last request was quite beyond his power, but he would submit it for the Phraya's (his father) consideration.

A letter was immediately prepared and sent off to Ligor, along with the dispatch of the Chief to the Phraya informing him of my destination and requesting a passport.

I then proceeded to Trang from which place another letter was sent off to the Phraya, nearly to the same purport as the first, stating that I should await a reply there, but that it was indispensable that he should afford me a personal conference with himself. The interval was employed in an endeavour to ascertain the actual extent, state and resources of the other Siamese provinces lying north of Trang. We returned to Trang on the 7th June and on the 8th a letter from the Phraya was delivered to me by the senior of four of his officers whom he had forwarded with it.

This letter stated that it had never been customary for Furmys [*sic.?* Farang] (Europeans) to travel through the country and that he (the Phraya) wished to conform to ancient usages, besides, when the envoy's two letters reached Ligor, and they arrived on the same day, it happened that two Siamese officers of high rank, Surasena and Phraya Chaisong Kram accompanied by forty Khoon Navy (inferior Navy) had just entered Ligor from Bankok, commissioned by the Mighty Emperor of Siam, who is exalted like God above the prostrate heads of his subjects, to assist the Phraya in governing his provinces. As the envoy's letters did not detail particulars and as these are wanted by the Phraya in the first instance, he has therefore deputed Chom Ram Decha of Bankok, Khoon Akson, Nai Nieum, and Nai Koong, three Ligor officers, to confer with the envoy and hear what he has to communicate, also to obtain a written explanation of particulars for himself. When this has been done the Phraya, as he may find it most convenient, "will either receive the envoy at Ligor or meet him at Trang. There is a route through the forest which conducts in four days to Ligor, so that no delay will ensue. Let not the envoy feel vexed, and he is entreated to continue at Trang." Dated 3d night of moon's increase in the 7th month, year Wok.

These officers exerted all their diplomatic faculties (which are not marked with the effrontery and want of tact observable amongst the Burmese) to obtain from me all that their [? master] desired, but the result of a five hours' conference with them convinced me that the Phraya would, if possible, waive a personal conference. I therefore urged on the minds of these men that, as the Governor of Penang had deemed it requisite to depute an agent to their master, he could not consistently with his professions refuse to grant a conference, either at Trang or Ligor, which places were equally convenient. But I added that if

they would give me a positive assurance (in writing) that the Mission would be afterwards allowed to proceed to Ligor I would at once comply [with] the Rajah's wish to learn the intent of it, but that nothing satisfactory could result from a written correspondence with the Phraya or from intangible conversation with his agents. The officers then left me to return to Ligor [carrying] a letter from me to the Phraya, urging him to admit of the proposed conference, regretting the delay which had taken place, informing him that it would be improper to detail except to himself all the affairs respecting which I had been sent, and concluding by shortly hinting that I had much to state about the Ava war and its probable consequences, also regarding Keddah affairs, the Southern or Tenasserim Provinces [and] the employment of Sepoys in them.

I remained ten days longer at Trang when, as no reply from the Phraya had reached me, I prepared to to depart.

In case, however, the Phraya might have transmitted an erroneous account of the Mission to Bankok I forwarded a letter to the Phra Khlang or Minister at the Siamese capital accompanied by literal translations in the Siamese language of the Governor General's proclamation of war against the Ava State. A private letter was also addressed by me to the Phraya of Ligor, requesting him to forward the dispatch and (in case he might have declined doing so) he was told that a duplicate would be sent by the first opportunity by sea to Siam. I likewise wrote to His Highness a private letter, cautioning [him] against listening to the reports brought to him by evil designing persons from Penang, and informing him that the object with which I had arrived in his country was of the most amicable tendency, of which time would convince him. As however His Highness had declined giving me an audience I could not deliver to him the presents I had

brought but I begged to present to him a map of India and other Eastern Countries, on which I had written down the names of the Chief regions and places in the Siamese Character. The conduct of the messenger who went to Penang was commented on in the above letter, yet these very officers are always sent to Penang in political negotiations: The letter to the Phra Khlang contained a recapitulation of all that had taken place since my appointment to the Mission and [mentioned] that one of its principal objects was to apprize the Court of Bankok of the nature of the war with Ava. It was stated that I could not possibly hold conferences with officers or explain to them what I had been deputed to communicate to the Phrya in person.

The substance of the letter of the secretary to the Penang Government to me of the 9th July regarding the Burmese War and inviting the Siamese to co-operate, was engrossed also in the letter to the Phra Klang and he was told that I had been obliged by the circumstances of the Phraya declining to reply to my letter or to grant me an audience thus to correspond with him direct. Copies of the proclamations of war against Ava were therefore now forwarded and I concluded by apprizing the Minister that the Governor General entertained the most amicable feelings toward his Siamese Majesty and deprecated whatever might have the remotest tendency to interrupt their exercise.

The Mission accordingly left Trang and returned to Penang.

From the feelings which appeared to me to actuate the Siamese on this occasion, gathered more from unguarded conversations than public discussions, I had the honor to express to the Penang Government my opinion that there were but slender hopes of co-operation in the Burmese War, and that they would

in all probability await the issue, since should it prove fortunate to our arms they would thereby gain both in strength and confidence, and should we fail they would not then be exposed to the sure and implacable vengeance of the Ava Court for having joined us. I further stated that it seemed to me even doubtful whether this war would not serve to estrange the Siamese from us to a greater distance than hitherto and instil suspicions into their minds that it was only a prelude to an attack on their country. With respect to the Phraya of Ligor, my residence of three months in his country, information obtained from his subjects, and my own experience of his character, all went to persuade me that he was an active and very ambitious Prince, and a stern, relentless and rapacious master; that he was grasping at all the Governments of Lower Siam and that there was little chance of his resigning Keddah to the Ex Rajah. I expressed the hope that the knowledge which had now been obtained of his principles would serve in some degree to counterbalance the otherwise unsatisfactory result of the Mission.

When the Ligorian's messengers returned to him he was, it is reported, rather ashamed of himself, and would have instantly gone down to Trang had I not left it.

The instructions of the Penang Government were carried into effect with the exception of the procuring of boats. To have got any the sanction of the Court of Bangkok would have been required, and this would have caused a delay sufficient to have done away with any expected benefit to have been derived by an employment of them. But my enquiries on the coast confirmed me in the belief that there were no boats in the rivers there fit to go to sea, as they had been built chiefly for river or coasting services.

CHAPTER V.

War in Keddah and Tuanku Din's Proceedings.

In 1828 Tuanku long Puteh, the brother in law, and Tuanku Din or Kudin, the nephew of the Ex Rajah, settled themselves in Province Wellesley without permission, and commenced intriguing with the inhabitants, with the view of recovering Keddah. The same reasons which prevented the Ex Rajah from being sent to Malacca operated also in the Province, and these obnoxious individuals were allowed to remain unmolested.

In 1829 Kudin or Tuanku Din atacked Keddah aided by certain other influential Malays and by ryots of the Honble. Company, but he was driven back (a).

Ex Rajah's Obstinacy.

The Ex King had no sooner ascertained that the Government declined arresting him than he exhibited his contempt by settling himself in Province Wellesley and gathering about him all his old adherents should [sic. ? including] the Panghula Mullins the Hajis and Libies, the Panglimas and the Waus. All that could be done was to keep a watch over his conduct. Having ascertained on whom he could depend and his coffers getting empty he returned to Penang and his pension was restored to him without any acknowledgment by him of his error or promises of amendment—a generosity he scarcely deserved to have shown to him.

The Rajah of Ligor was apprized by the Local Authority in Province Wellesley that [the] Ex Rajah was meditating an attack on Keddah. But the Ligorian neglected making the necessary dispositions for the defence of Keddah.

(a). These men were Tuanku Jaffier and Tuanku Dangang, sons of Tuanku Long Puteh, Panglima Marwar, Che Man, Panglima tam, Imam Sa nahan, Che Haji, Panglima Hossain and Mim and Che Bhio, Awang Lahal and Che Akil.

June 1830. About this time a double commission was appointed (a) to try and persuade the Ex Rajah to remove with his family to Malacca. He promised after some time, to the first of these officers, that he would go. How he changed his mind has been already shown. He declared however that he would try to regain his lost dominions.

Oct. 1830. Pirates becoming very numerous in the direction of Keddah, the Honble. Mr. Ibbetson, Governor, directed his agent (b), to proceed to that place and persuade the Siamese to send out a fleet of boats to co-operate in driving the pirates off. The Agent went in the Southampton Ship of War and having obtained the fleet of Siamese boats proceeded with them to join the boats of that ship. The search proved unsuccessful. The Commander of the Siamese boats turned out to be the notorious pirate, Pakirsa, who however, owing to his situation, could not be noticed publicly and punished as such, although he had been outlawed from Penang. This man will be hereafter introduced, but the position he held exhibits the Siamese [? practice] very clearly which takes advantage of the services of energetic characters like Pakirsa, although well aware that their fidelity is not to be much depended [on].

The Siamese continued in fancied security because, although warned, they could not bring themselves to believe that, with the will, the British had not the power to prevent an invasion of Keddah by the Ex Rajah or his adherents, especially as the Rajah of Ligor was informed by the Penang Government that means would be [taken] to prevent the Ex King and his followers from disturbing the territory of Siam by seizing and delivering up to the Chief of Keddah any persons guilty of such conduct.

(a). Messrs. Low and Nairne.
(b). Captain Low.

This promise was unfortunate in two respects because it tended to prevent the Siamese adopting vigorous measures for defence, and because it neither was or perhaps could have been fulfilled to the letter, for at the same time nearly the Superintendent of Province Wellesley was informed that the exercise of actual force against the Ex Rajah and his adherents might, in in case of bloodshed, be productive of very serious consequences to those employed. The interference of the Court of Judicature, or rather the Records in the politics of Keddah will explain the case. But force was afterwards employed, as will be seen.

Tuanku Soliman, a younger brother of the Ex Rajah of Keddah, who was allowed by the Siamese to live at Kota, a place close on the eastern boundary of Province Wellesley and situated on the Pry (a) River began to excite the ryots of the Pry district to disaffection, and he had the audacity to send one or two [of] his agents, who in concert with certain low hangers-on about the Court of Judicature, proceeded secretly to measure out what they called the boundary of the Province, cutting off from the latter a large tract of country which had been under English rule since the cession, and of which for thirty years the British had held undisputed possession, and over which the Court of Judicature had ever exercised immediate jurisdiction. The ryots hoped that they might thus escape payment of quit rents for land, and their example was rapidly acting on the rest of the inhabitants. As regards the latter, the feeling was not thoroughly exhibited, and as respects the former, the tendency to rebel would have perhaps been surmounted had they been permitted to listen to reason. But unfortunately their case was taken up

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(a). Pry so named because the winds of its mouth are supposed to be baffling, or because it has a very winding course. The name will admit of either interpretation.

with the usual precipitancy of ignorance and cupidity by persons in Penang, including pettyfogging and other agents in the Courts, native merchants and Hajis. The radical press also teemed with gross abuse of the local authority in the Province Wellesley, which although too contemptible to be noticed by him had the bad effect of urging them to overt acts.

It might surprize a settler of land revenue in Hindostan to be told that the various classes of the native population enjoying British protection at their own seeking (for they were emigrants) should for the most part pay only a nominal quit rent, not exceeding in a large section of them 17 per cent, [sic ? 7] scarcely on the average exceeding 5 per cent, and never as yet exceeding 10 per cent the gross value—to help to defray the expenses of protection. The mischief arising from Tuanku Soliman's abetted movement continued for three years to retard the land settlement.

There is not, it may safely be asserted, a peasantry in India, perhaps not in Europe, so comfortable according to its own ideas of comfort as that of this settlement of Penang.

It is probable that the Raja of Ligor had favoured Tuanku Soliman hoping that he might establish him as a spy on the frontier of the English territory, for on being apprized of the conduct of that Chief the Raja replied in a very evasive manner, not seeming to be aware that the Ex Rajah and his adherents were playing a double game, endeavouring on the one hand to detach Tuanku Solimam from the Siamese interests so as to have his co-operation against Keddah, and on the other hand to make him the unconscious agent in bringing on a misunderstanding betwixt the British and Siamese.

Tuanku Soliman was professing to Captain Low, Superintendent of Province Wellesley, in the mean while, that although living in the Siamese territory

his heart was devoted to the British. But when he visited him at Kota to endeavour to bring the Tuanku to a better mind his behaviour was so wanting in the usual forms of Malayan etiquette, and his conversation was so suspiciously evasive, that no doubt could remain of his estrangement from his professsions.

Soon after, the constable of Pry district with a party of police and three Sepoys was proceeding to issue some Government orders there. Their path lay in one spot through jungle. It was narrow and the party was carefully proceeding in single file when it was waylaid by a body of Malays. The constable and 3 Sepoys and several peons were killed, and the remainder, who were in the rear, consisting of ryots, fled back.

A party of Sepoys had been stationed on the Pry River on the requisition of the Resident Councillor for the protection of the district. Party spirit ran high in favour of the Malays and rebellion in the eyes of their advocates seemed now almost a virtue. The Coroner of Penang, instead of holding an inquest on the bodies of the murdered men and issuing his warrants for apprehending the murderers, sided, it is to be hoped through ignorance, with the faction which absurdly pretended to doubt the extent of the jurisdiction (thirty years having elapsed without such a doubt having ever been mooted) and thus left Soliman to act as he might choose. The military force which was stationed on the Pry River was without the knowledge or sanction of the Resident Councillor suddenly removed by military authority before he could reverse such a strange procedure. A requisition arrived for more troops to carry on the Nanning War, and none could be spared for Province Wellesley. As Superintendent of the Province and deeming that delay to punish such a rebellious movement would tend to a more serious revolt, Captain Low assembled all the disposable armed peons and about 100 Malays on whom reliance could be placed, and drove the insurgents from their position in the Upper part of the

Pry District in a thick jungle, and here having stockaded a post in its vicinity the spirit of opposition was checked.

The ring leaders of the movement fled to Tuanku Soliman's Head Quarters at Kota, but many of the ryots who had been at first induced to join them returned to their homes. The jungle was now quickly cleared away up to the frontier by a body of new and quiet settlers in room of the banditti who had harboured in it.

Tuanku Soliman was now unmasked and his fate was sealed. He had chosen to offend the power to which alone in adverse circumstances he must have looked for protection. If he sided with the Malays and was unsuccessful where could he retreat to?

It is usual for the Malayan petty traders of Penang and Province Wellesley to visit the birds nest islands about the beginning of the year. Their boats are always well armed as a defence against pirates and consequently no suspicion arises on that point. The Ex Rajah and his adherents took advantage of the yearly fleet to fit out an expedition against Keddah. It may be safely affirmed that the Government and its officers were the only parties interested, except a few Chinese in preventing this attack, one which no doubt contravened in some measure the Treaty of Bangkok. The good people of Penang seemed to have forgotten their frequent panics on reported Siamese invasions of that island, which had on one occasion urged a large party, with Mr Secretary John Anderson at their head, to send their property into the Fort for safety.

The Chinese, who in many respects occupy the same position in the Straits that the Jews do in Europe were staunch abettors of the attempt. Valuable as these settlers are in the countries to the eastward it should not be forgotten that they are mercenary strangers and intensely selfish, fond of

intrigue and almost secure in its exercise from the veil which their secret associations cast over them, ready but concealed abettors of every political strife which is likely to be followed by pecuniary advantage to themselves, and less interested in the stability of the Government under whose protection they may happen during their migration to be living than almost any other class of natives because they enjoy both toleration and immunities in all the countries to the eastward not accorded to the proper subjects of those countries, thus making it easy for them to change their residence and without sacrificing much.

On the present occasion the Chinese were divided in their politics, just as their own interests pointed: the Hajis, who form a numerous portion of the population, preached a crusade against the infidel Siamese, and did more mischief than all other classes combined. The eastern Hajis are rather a disreputable set generally considered, miserably ignorant when they embark for the Holy Kaliah and Haji Asenat. The short collision they afterwards sustain there with the world only serves to teach them the art of overreaching their neighbours. The white frock and turban which they are then privileged to wear, while it renders their faults and views more glaring still, helps to make it difficult to assail them amongst a bigoted people. Under the mask of religion they are, with but few exceptions, ever ready to range themselves in the ranks against the Kafir. Whether they honor the British by applying to them this epithet amongst themselves may not be a doubtful question. But as the latter are not idolaters they are in some measure exempted from the anathemas pronounced by the Koran against image worshippers. The mental political superiority of Europeans too has a potent effect in modifying the feelings with which the unfaithful of the Far East are viewed by Mahometans. Hatred they may and often do entertain for their British rulers, but contempt they cannot really feel if they would.

The boats alluded to slipped away by degrees from Penang and Province Wellesley and were concealed near the Boonting Island. When all were ready Tuanku Mahomed escaped in a dark night in a skiff and joined them. Betwixt two and three thousand men are supposed to have gone by land but as they crossed the frontier of the Province in small parties under cover of the night (and slunk back in the same way to their homes) the number could not be exactly ascertained. Eighty Bengal men who had formerly been Sepoys also joined Kudin. A very few only of these ever returned.

When the fleet entered the Keddah river the Siamese Chief, a son of the Rajah of Ligor, was panic struck. He had not a hundred Siamese to defend the Fort. The Malays he could not trust and as Kudin had dressed out many of his men in old jackets of Sepoys (the Sepoys always sell their old jackets here) the Chief believed that the Penang Government had sent a force with him. Nuther and Ahmed wore uniforms of British form. The Siamese gave the enemy one discharge of all the guns on the water face, perhaps a dozen of large calibre, and then evacuated the place. But Kudin's men were so close on them that thirty were made prisoners and the Chief received a wound after no Spartan fashion. The prisoners were kept for some time, and then most cruelly tortured and butchered in cold blood.

The Keddah Fort, if it deserves the name, is an oblong square of about*—yards by fifty. The wall is of brick and about eleven feet high on an average. It has no regular ditch, the river washes a small latus (sic) on its south side, a narrow creek runs along the east face, leaving a path betwixt it and the wall. The other three sides are protected by mud swamps and mangroves. Altogether it is a most untenable place for a single day or even hour against a regular force, and less defensible than a well constructed stockade; which sort of work the Indo-Chinese had better adhere to if

*figures illegible.

they should contemplate ever provoking Europeans to a contest with them.

The Raja received a present of muskets and amunition. The native officers of the escort at his request put the Sepoys through the manual and platoon exercises, and although he did not say much at the time the impression made on his mind was such that he afterwards procured some old disbanded soldiers to instruct his men in drill, but it should seem with little success.

When the Resident left this fortified camp the Ligorian attended him with a large retinue of spearsmen and swordsmen to the bank of the Keddah river. The conveyances were handsome litters and carried by means of poles on men's shoulders.

The Ligorian's age at the time of this visit was fifty or nearly so. He is however a stout man and not decapitated (*sic*), which is an event which may happen, [? though] he may govern for many years longer.

* *There appears to be some confusion in this chapter. Either there is an omission or a mistake in the arrangement of the matter.*

CHAPTER VI.

Affairs of Perak South of Penang.

In 1825 Mr. Anderson was deputed by the Penang Government to the State of Perak to negotiate for the evacuation of that State by the Salengore Rajah's troops. The latter had been sent there by the Rajah [to] insure some pecuniary claims. The mission was successful. Salengore is a much smaller state than Perak but its people are bolder than those of Perak.

In 1826 it was found that the Raja or Phraya of Ligor had sent a party of troops into the Perak State, thereby committing a breach of the obligations imposed upon him by Treaty. He was accordingly warned that his conduct would render it impossible for the Penang Government to preserve relations of amity

with him, however anxious it might be to do so, unless he adhered to his engagements.

Adverting to the instructions I had the honor to receive when dispatched to Perak I will merely relate as briefly as possible the general results of the Mission.

The Raja of Perak did not require to be convinced that it would be necessary for him to adopt a firmness and decision of conduct so as to free himself from the influence of the Ligor Chief and the Salangore Rajah, and to assert that independence which had been guaranteed to him by the treaty alluded to. But situated as he was in the midst both of open and concealed enemies, he distinctly required that British interposition should be vouchsafed until he could render his position secure.

He was decidedly averse to the measure of transmitting the gold and silver flowers hitherto so pertinaciously demanded from him by the Siamese Court or of paying tribute or homage in any shape to it and he observed that Perak had always been independent previous to the late interference of the Ligor and Salengore Rajahs. He had indeed been twice induced, through fear of threatened invasion, to send golden flowers to Bankok.

The Rajah desired it might be understood as his firm resolve that no communication or intercourse, not purely commercial, should take place or exist betwixt his country and Siam or Salengore.

The Rajah expressed himself very grateful for the care which had been taken of his interests by the Penang Government. He said that the Siamese were utterly faithless and that he hoped a party of Sepoys would be left with him to protect him from their intrigues. This of course could not be complied with. He then expressed his wish that I would at least guarantee the proferred aid in case of necessity, by a formal agreement, since in this event the Siamese

would be cautious of breaking with the British. The same was desired with reference to Salengore. This guarantee could not be avoided from the following considerations. The Ligorians had openly infringed a solemn Treaty, had usurped the power and authority of the Raja, had corrupted and gained over many of his officers and had placed him in personal danger. The Rajah then delivered to me a letter to the Governor of Penang, the substance of which might be communicated to the Ligorian, expressive of his desire to keep himself independent of Siam and other States. When it was considered that several of the Rajah's own Ministers were intriguing with the Siamese and that these men must according to usage become parties to any Treaty which I might have to enter into, the negotiations appeared likely to terminate unfavorably. It was quite obvious that engagements which should be [entered into] under such circumstances could not be relied on, however well disposed the Raja might be. These considerations, to which the Rajah was painfully alive, roused into some degree of activity his faculties, which had been nearly subdued by the domineering conduct of the Siamese. He earnestly prayed that I would not leave him a prey to Siamese rapacity, but that I would remain for a few weeks until he had, as suggested to him by me, remodelled his Government, and rid himself of the disaffected by expelling them from office.

I did not hesitate to prolong my stay since it was apparent that had I gone away before he had established his authority, he might have been led to distrust the offers of assistance made to him through me, and to throw himself into the exclusive power of the Ligor Chief, who could then have easily destroyed the Rajah and have placed the Rajah Muda, a creature of the Siamese, in the Government of Perak.

The Raja now issued a proclamation to his subjects, warning them against intriguing with the Ligorians or Salengorians. The chief men in the

country were summoned to his presence along with the Rajah Muda or Heir Apparent, who in the hope perhaps of a quicker succession to power than the age and the constitution of the Rajah warranted, had taken the oath of allegiance to the Siamese. So perplexed, however, did the Rajah find himself when affairs came to a crisis that he made a formal tender to me of his country for the British. He was promptly told that his independence alone was desired or contemplated by the British. When all the Chiefs had assembled at Allahan, the Rajah ordered them to proceed to the Balei or Hall of Audience. I went there at the Rajah's request accompanied by Captain Elwan of the Bombay Naval Service, and Mr. Frith, Assistant Surgeon on the Bombay Establishment, who did me the favour to remain with me at Allahan to witness what should take place. The proclamation before alluded to was again read before [the] assembly, also the list of new Ministers and officers, and to each of these last classes the oath of allegiance was tendered separately.

The Rajah Muda having committed treason by siding with the Siamese against his country had his claim to the succession formally annulled, and a nearer relative of the Rajah was declared Heir Apparent.

These important measures were happily effected without resistance on the part of Raja Muda and his adherents.

The change was made so quickly that no time was left to them to organise means of annoyance.

Means were then taken by the Raja for seizing several persons holding small commands on the sea coast and who had declined obeying his summons. These officers were known to have aided and abetted the pirates who were daily molesting the native traders to Penang.

The oath of allegiance having been administered to the new Chiefs, the Raja directed his engagement

with me to be read aloud. It was then signed and sealed, when the assembly broke up under a salute of eleven guns, intended, the Raja said, for the Mission. I therefore returned it with three volleys of musketry from the detachment of troops.

The Raja promised to protect traders, to discountenance slavery, and to promote agriculture and general education amongst his subjects.

The Raja of Ligor disclaimed having broken the Treaty, but the Mission had the means of proving his want of faith beyond a doubt. The conduct of his troops in Perak, who fled on learning of our approach is just what we might have looked for from any demi-civilised people.

They obliged the Raja to supply them gratis with rations and whatever else they coveted, they forcibly seized the produce of gardens, levied contributions at pleasure on the impoverished peasantry, and abducted and seized on women and conveyed them from their families. The Raja stated that within a very few months the expense and loss incurred by the country, owing to Siamese occupancy, amounted to about half a lac of rupees.

The Raja of Ligor's letters and those written by his orders to the Raja of Perak are useful instances of Siamese diplomacy.

Several arrangements were made with the Raja for facilitating the mercantile and friendly intercourse betwixt Penang and Perak by land and water, and for the dispersion of pirates.

The Pankour or Dinding Islands lying off the Perak coast are well known to be the private haunts of piratical boats which annually sweep the coast up to Junk Ceylon.

The Raja entirely of his free will executed a deed assigning over these Islands to the E. I. Company.

This I could only accept conditionally, observing to the Raja that I would submit his offer for the consideration of the Penang Government.

The direct control, which owing to the Mission the Perak Raja obtained over the sea coast soon enabled him to drive out those officers who had leagued with the pirates. But it was not until their head quarters at Korow had been destroyed that the native petty traders were relieved from their fears.

Having made, as directed, every requisite enquiry regarding the piracies which had been committed in our neighbourhood, I felt authorized in reporting [to] the Prince of Wales Island Government that the nature of the Perak and other adjacent coasts was such that no piratical prahus or boats could be pursued, with hopes of success, unless by others similarly constructed and well manned. With such boats, well armed and defended by bulwarks and netting, it seemed to me that the pirates might be decoyed and overtaken. Subsequent to my return from Perak in January 1827 I was directed by the Prince of Wales Island Government to attack the pirates who had established their Head Quarters at the Korow River about thirty miles to the southward of the Island. It becomes requisite to introduce the subject in this place because the result showed that the Raja of Ligor not only slighted the obligations of treaties, but actually upheld, within the Perak territory, a notorious piratical Chief called Nakodah Oodin.

I was not aware of this circumstance until the papers of the latter fell into my hand subsequent to the attack, and I had examined individuals who had been carried off from Penang and enslaved by him.

To such a pitch of audacity had Oodin's gang arrived that it had become a regular trade to carry off British subjects from Penang and Province Wellesley

to Korow. Notices were then conveyed to their relatives, who fearful for their safety, rarely returned to acquaint the police, but secretly redeemed them at the average rate of twenty dollars for each person. Pirated property was regularly sold them and a good deal was there found and traced by me on the spot.

The Raja of Ligor had hoped that as Korow was a place too notorious to be frequented by the Perak or Penang people, his underhand design in that quarter would escape detection. When, however, his motives were exposed he acted the bold part and even ventured to assert that Korow formed a part of his dependency of Keddah.

The Perak Chief or Penghula of Korow had several years before the period here adverted to been attacked by the noted pirate Tuanku Long put,* a Seaman, who settled himself there. But about the time when the Siamese invaded Keddah the equally celebrated pirate Oodin expelled him and occupied the position. He was then found by the Ligor Phraya to be a very convenient person to assist him in annoying his neighbours and this convenience was mutual.

* *sic.? Putch*

The Phraya had never before publicly acknowledged Oodin as a servant of his, well knowing that he would, in so doing, be required by the Penang Government to explain his reasons for forcibly retaining possession of a district of Perak and for abetting piracies of the most atrocious description.

The Phraya took no notice of the exposure until about three months after it happened, and then all on a sudden he adopted a very unadvised step in claiming the territory so nefariously seized. His Councils must have been of the most imbecile and despicable description, since they exposed his duplicity so very soon after he had signed a solemn treaty to refrain from interfering in Perak affairs. But it is just as well that he has afforded us the means of appreciating the Siamese political character.

The Phraya was soon informed that "the Krean River and not Korow is the boundary betwixt Perak and Keddah" and Captain Burney, in whose chart (a) of that part of the coast these rivers are so laid down, and who was with the Phraya when he accused the English of infringing his boundary by attacking Korow, informed him but when too late to save his honor, that he was wrong, and then referring to what Mr. Light had reported and to the chart which Mr Lindsay had made of the neighbouring coast, soon after our first occupation of Penang, assured him that "the river Krean and not Korow was always and must now be considered the true boundary betwixt Keddah and Perak." The Raja was not however prevented from insisting on his unwarrantable claims. His Highness therefore sank still deeper in his own toils, and was at length effectually silenced by the production of a letter of his own addressed in 1822 by him to the then Governor of Penang, the Honble. Mr. Phillips, describing Nakodah Oodin (his subsequent protégé) as a notorious pirate and requesting that he might be seized.

At the period when these occurrences happened the British troops were actively engaged in prosecuting the war in Ava. That persevering people the Burmans had not yet been humbled, and the Siamese throughout the contest had assumed a suspicious position of neutrality which left them the option, after the issue, to side with the stronger party. Had our success been only partial the Siamese Court would probably have adopted a haughty line of policy which would have been the result of contempt for our power.

The measures therefore so promptly adopted by the Penang Government embraced the present exigency, and provided for the future. They were in accordance with the views which were entertained by the Supreme Government, the checking of the Siamese

(a). Dated 10th April 1825.

in their habitual encroachment on the Malayan States of the Peninsula and the upholding the Malayan States in their independence, as the surest pledges for the security of the native trade in the Straits. Had the Penang Government not acted in so decisive a manner the whole Peninsula except Malacca might at this moment have been under Siamese sway.

Since the Mission left Perak that State and other territories to the southward of it have enjoyed uninterrupted quiet and the Siamese appear aware of the necessity of setting bounds to their ambition for the present at least if not for the future. Any general system of interference on the part of the British with the native States to the eastward would prove unprofitable and uncalled for. But particular interference may perhaps occasionally become indispensable and perhaps unavoidable as in the present case, where it counteracted the projects of the Raja of Ligor, secured the independence of the Perak Chief and fulfilled the most urgent article of the Treaty of Bangkok (the 14th) the stipulations of which were made to prevent any interference of the Siamese with that country. To anticipate is often both more politic and safe than to await an issue which shall surely demand a desperate remedy. In so far as pirates are concerned we ought never to be at a loss how to act. They are common enemies and as such ought to be run down wherever they shelter themselves, provided the State under which they seek refuge declines or is unable to drive them out.

The rivers on the coast require some protecting State to save them from pirates in concert with the native princes and we are bound by the Dutch Treaty of 17 March 1824 to co-operate with them in destroying pirates. This work could not have been commenced at a better place than Korow, which for so long a period has been full of pirates, [and] which is only thirty miles from Penang.

The Honble. the Court of Directors have enjoined that piracy should be eradicated in concert with native States, but alone if they should scheme* in so laudable a measure.

*Sic.

Military Expedition and Political Mission to Perak in 1826.

Shortly before the invasion of Keddah by the Siamese the troops of the latter nation had overawed the State of Perak, but had afterwards retired. In 1826, however, the Raja of Ligor conceived the scheme of endeavouring to forestall the 14th article of the Treaty of Bankok by sending a large party of Siamese under friendly pretences to Perak. Having corrupted the chief men in this country the Raja became a mere cypher and his independence seemed on the point of being lost, for it was believed that fear would make him consent to acknowledge vassalage to the Court of Siam. His critical position having been with difficulty made known to the Penang Government, it determined to render the above quoted article of the Treaty effective if possible and accordingly deputed to that Malayan State a political agent who should at the same time act as Commandant of a military force. The Antelope of Bombay, cruizer, Captain Elwan, and the Hon. Company's cruizer Zephyr were directed to accompany him and be guided by his orders. A detachment of the Local Corps composed the above military force. A gun boat was also attached to the cruizers.

26 Oct. 1826. The expedition or mission reached the Perak River and the Antelope worked her way into it with considerable difficulty. She was perhaps the first English vessel of war which had ever ascended it. After proceeding about 10 miles up the stream a rapid forced her Commander to cast anchor. The detachment of troops commanded by Captain Low as before noticed and accompanied by Lieut. Elwan, Commander of the cruizer and Dr. Frith pushed up the river in

boats. The Siamese troops which were encamped on the north bank of the river fled speedily towards the frontier, without standing the attack, and when the detachment reached Allahan, the residence of the Raja (a), His Highness [was] found deserted by many of his influential Chiefs and overjoyed at the prospect of being delivered from Siamese thraldom.

The real condition of the Raja had not been known to the Government, so that Captain Low's instructions hardly embraced the existing affairs. Keeping however in view the recent Treaty with Siam, the mischiefs likely to arise from tacitly allowing a breach of it, and the desire before expressed by the Supreme Government to throw obstacles in the way of Siamese aggrandisement to the Southward, and being aware also that did the Mission immediately return the Raja would succumb of necessity to Siamese dictation he took on himself, heavy as it afterwards appeared* to be, the responsibility of instantly adopting the only course which in his opinion could secure His Highness's independence.

*Sic. ? proved.

Perak Expedition.

Siamese Policy

His Highness was recommended to remodel his Government. To this end the influential men, including the disaffected Chiefs, were summoned by him to his presence. The whole of them arrived in a few days, when a solemn oath of allegiance was tendered to them by their priest in presence of the Raja and the Mission. A new arrangement of officers took place. The disaffected Raja Muda was displaced, and in the course of a month the independence of Perak was secured to the mortification of the Ligorian, who had tried to persuade the Penang Government, through Captain Burney the agent of the Right Honorable the Governor General then with the Ligorian at Keddah, that the Keddah Rajah was desirous of his protection!

(a). In 40.11 N. L., 101°.10 long., and two days' pulling from the vessel.

It was afterwards a source of much regret to Captain Low to find that Captain Burney had taken this erroneous view of Perak affairs in his communications to Government, one which was not however allowed by the Supreme Government to have any weight, in the face of the Raja's declarations to the contrary. Since the above period up to the present time the Siamese have not attempted to gain a footing in Perak. Some time before this expulsion of the Siamese from Perak the Rajah of Salangore, a small Malayan State adjoining the former, with 40 boats and 800 men, had driven the Siamese out of Perak, which they had usurped, and had occupied part of its territory on the South. Mr. Anderson was deputed to Perak and Salengore to adjust matters and the result was that the Salengorians evacuated Perak and the southern boundary of Perak was fixed on the River Birnam. Treaties were also entered into with these Rajas respectively.

The Raja of Perak delivered to me a paper on my departure which proved to be a formal cession of the Dinding and* Pankour Islands near the mouth of Perak River to the British. These islands had been long before offered and accepted, but they were never occupied.

Sic. ? *or.*

CHAPTER VII.

[First part omitted as previously done, or not bearing directly on Siamese affairs.]

Pirates, Muda River.

The

Honorable J. W. Salmond, Esqre.
Resident Councillor,

Sir,

I have the honor to report to you for the information of the Honble. the Governor, that the notorious

pirate, Pakirsa, has again visited the Muda River, and has forcibly seized and detained a girl named Menap, who had crossed with her family to the opposite or Siamese side of the Muda River on a temporary visit to some of her relatives. The girl has been by Pakirsa given over to the Siamese Chief at the Muda, who refuses on my requisition here on the spot to give her back until he reports to Keddah, because as he says Pakirsa is the servant of the Siamese Governor of Keddah. It would hence appear that the Siamese have not paid the slightest attention to the late remonstrances of the Honble. the Governor regarding this noted pirate, who is now under Siamese protection and shelters himself from blame under their name. I cannot allow myself to think that such behaviour on their part is not cognizable, with reference to the Treaty of Bangkok. The Siamese Chief of Keddah may have become careless on finding that the numerous remonstrances which have been made on this subject have been hitherto evaded without any penalty having been incurred. I beg to quote one of the first remonstrances I believe which was made, and to express my impression that the threats it contained were not enforced as the Siamese prevented their being put into execution by (apparent) acquiescence for the time.

The Honble. Mr. Phillips thus addressed the Siamese Chief at Keddah regarding a piracy of Pakirsa: "If therefore the Siamese Chiefs cannot or will not administer justice in the Keddah Country so as to punish pirates and wicked men domiciled within its boundaries, who injure and oppress British subjects and others, the Governor of Prince of Wales Island must and will take on himself to do so. He therefore demands, on behalf of the British Government, that the Siamese Chiefs shall inflict exemplary punishment upon Pakirsa and his nephew Hamid and not suffer pirates to reside under their jurisdiction or in any dependency of Keddah to which they [lay] claim, else

all intercourse will be put a stop to, and the Governor will adopt measures accordingly."

The Siamese replied that they would seize Pakirsa and punish him for his murder of Sibbee Ghanney and Bawasa.

In conclusion I beg to remark that the murderers and robbers who have fled from justice here are now followers of Pakirsa at Ean, a village betwixt [the] Muda and Keddah rivers.

I have &ca.
(Signed) James Low.

Province Wellesley
25th July 1836.

[A number of other documents appear with the above, but have been omitted as being unnecessary, or on account of having been sent previously.]

CHAPTER VIII.

[Omitted as dealing only with Malacca].

CHAPTER IX.

An Account of the War betwixt the Malays and Siamese In 1838. Commonly called the War of Tuanku Mahomed Saad.

The last attack by the Malays in Keddah bears very general resemblance to that by Kudin. I would not have detailed these wars at such length as I have done, had I not felt assured that it was the best mode of displaying the character and resources of the contending parties.

In 1836 the Ex Raja of Keddah left Malacca and proceeded to Bruas, which is a small river in the Perak country. As the Treaty of Bankok had provided against such a movement, the Ex Raja gave out before he left Malacca that he intended.* The Raja Muda or Heir Apparent of Perak, instead of declining participation, as he should have done with reference to the Treaty just mentioned, went accompanied by a fleet of boats and visited this rather untoward guest, and although the latter had, while in power in Keddah, leagued with the Siamese against Perak, still the Raja Muda appeared inclined to espouse his cause.

** An omission occurs here.*

As the independence of Perak, which had been secured by the expedition and Mission of 1826 and by the subsequent Treaty of Bankok, could only be permanently maintained by the strict neutrality of that State as regarded the affairs of Keddah, the Honble. the Governor, Mr. Murchison, directed Captain Low to meet the Raja Muda on the Perak Frontier, and after that officer had stongly exposed to him the dangerous position into which he had foolishly cast himself, he consented to return to the seat of the Perak Government.

The Ex Raja settled himself and his adherents on the banks of the Bruas River in Perak, and then began a systematic course of intrigue with his old friends in Penang and Province Wellesley exactly in the same manner and obviously tending to the same results as his intrigues in the former war.

About this time Mat Ali, one of the Ex Raja's adherents who had been pirating along the Keddah coast for some time before, and had been distinguished by the Ex Raja with the title of Sri Kirniajaya (*a*), made a sudden descent on, and took possession of the Pulo Lancavi, which are rocky and, with slight exceptions, barren islands lying off the Keddah coast and under the Siamese jurisdiction. Here he continued

(*a*). This title appertained to his father who was Governor of the Lancavys under the Malayan rule.

until the middle of April employing himself in pressing into the Raja's service, as he called it, all the Malayan boats he could command; many of these were trading boats from Penang. Those which were suspected to belong to persons well affected towards the the Siamese were taken and plundered.

The Honble. the Governor of the Straits sent to inform Mat Ali that if he did not forthwith remove to a distance force would be used to drive him away.

Agreeably to the instructions of the Government Captain McCrae proceeded to Bruas with H. M. sloop of war *Zebra* in order to persuade or to oblige, if persuasion should not suffice, the Ex Raja to return to Malacca.

April 1837. On the 19th April Captain McCrae took five of his boats well manned and armed up the Bruas River to the Ex Raja's residence. He was found in a house defended by a slight stockade and surrounded by some hundreds of Malays armed with spears, krises and arms of all kinds. Every possible argument was used by Captain McCrae to induce the Ex Raja to go to Malacca, but this old Chief, who had ever been noted for obstinacy when it was most to his disadvantage, doggedly replied that he had made up his mind to go to Keddah, that it was beneath his dignity to be so removed, and that he might be taken but not alive. During this conversation it would appear from all accounts that Captain McCrae had in a persuasive manner, but which was doubtless considered as a much too familiar one, put his hand on the Ex Rajah's shoulder. Krises all around were instantly half drawn from their scabbards, but luckily a motion of the Ex Raja's hand checked the murderers' impulse. Captain McCrae, finding all his arguments rejected, told the Ex Raja that as he had requested it, he would give him the ensuing night for deliberation and return in the morning. The interview of the 20th when Captain McCrae proceeded in his gig was equally unsatisfac-

officers, and vaunting themselves as champions of right against might, they have materially if not chiefly been the means of goading on the infuriated Malays to their own [? undoing], as is usual with agitators. Vilifications of the executive authorities were unsparingly asserted to nullify every precautionary or preventive measure taken by them to arrest the hostile movement.

If the names of those vain because ignorant self-elected redressers of wrongs, real or imagined, were made known, they would doubtless excite a smile of pity or contempt.

The mercantile portion of the Penang community (if not the latter generally) lives in a political horizon which is confined to a small circumference by the selfish interest of the hour. It is not many years ago since they used to tremble at the thoughts of the Siamese attacking Penang and it might not be difficult again to put them into a similar panic. One might have thought that peace would have been the watch-word of the Straits merchant. But here they do not see where their true interest lies, and unhappily the native merchants at least, who are mostly temporary residents, [and] care little either about the internal welfare of the settlement or its external politics, make money in any way that offers itself to them.

At one time we hear of nothing but ferocious, blood-thirsty and treacherous Malays, but the wind of profit shifting, the ear is saluted with the twaddle of poor oppressed ryots, unfortunate, helpless, ignorant Malays and so forth.

The contents of the Gazette were dispatched weekly to the Malayan Chiefs in Keddah, and as several influential gentlemen of this Island (not Government officers) kept up a correspondence with these men, and they heard themselves applauded by every class of natives, these last were inclined to

believe that their cause was secretly approved of by the British authorities—nor could after Proclamation do away with this belief, more particularly as the law has not attached specific penalties to the political offences therein denounced.

The Siamese had been frequently warned to be on their guard against the Malays. But six years having elapsed since the attack of Kudin the Governor of Keddah paid no attention to the advice given to him by Captain Low. Instead of sending to Ligor for a reinforcement of troops, he relied on the small dispersed Siamese parties he had in Keddah, not exceeding 300 men in all, vainly confiding in those Malays who had sworn fidelity to the Government of Siam for assistance in case of an attack. A general laxity in fact prevailed in the local Government. The garrison of Keddah consisted of about 800 men only, and fell therefore easily before the invaders.

In 1828 Tuanku Mohamed Saad, son of Tuanku Daad, who was half brother to the Ex Rajah's father, and Wan Mahomed (or Mat Ally) acting in concert with the Ex Raja's adherents, circulated a paper throughout Province Wellesley inviting the ryots to take up arms against the Siamese. The appeal was effectual, and although every endeavour by proclamation and otherwise was made to prevent a movement, still the people flocked to join the standard of the insurgents at the Muda [and] Marbow Rivers. A partial reaction took place in May (1838) but Tuanku Mahomed Saad Puteh, a brother of Tuanku Mahomed Saad, still kept his footing at Kota on the Pry River, and became the centre of the insurgents in that part of Keddah.

The Siamese now felt the evil they had brought on themselves by allowing the separate characters who had fled from justice in Penang, to harbour on their boundary at Muda River. It was deserved because

they had neglected the remonstrances made to them on this point.

Tuanku Mahomed Saad, with about seven or eight hundred men, now possesed himself of the whole frontier line on the Siamese side of the British Territory, and prepared to penetrate to the heart of Keddah by an attack from seaward. Tuanku Mahomed Saad and Wan Mat Ali arrived with a fleet of boats at the Marbow. The Siamese sent a force to oppose them, which was driven back with loss.

Keddah Fort taken.

About this period, Wan Mat Ali had full possession of the Lancavy Islands. It is however probable that the attack upon Keddah would have been delayed if the Raja of Ligor had been at Ligor, instead of Bangkok.

3 August 1838.

Tuanku Mahomed Saad attacked the Keddah Fort by sea on the 3rd August but was beaten back. Next day the force under Tuanku Mahomed Taip (or Payeh) approached on the land side. (a) The port at this

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(a). Tuanku Mahomed Saad went with five hundred men as his escort under Che Teh to negociate in the first instance with the Sangorean. In this way he waited forty days and and returned unsuccessful to Keddah.

Tuanku Mahomed Taip then took the command of the Malayan forces and advanced to the frontier of Phoong Po or Tong Po, where, after much delay and very little fighting he pushed on towards the sea port of Sangora. The Sangorians gradually falling back as he advanced another force under Wan Ha and Wan Mat pulaw was detached to support the detachment employed in the Siamese district of Chana, and there to form a junction with the disaffected Patan people. It was intended that after having accomplished these objects this force should embark at the mouth of the Patan river in boats and proceed by sea to assist Taip's army in reducing Sangora. This detachment was successful excepting in the last mentioned attempt, but it did not get any accession of Patan men as these people were afraid to join.

Meanwhile Tuanku Mahomed Taip's force had invested Sangora at the distance of six or seven miles from its walls. But the Sangorians and Chinese made their position rather uneasy by frequently assaulting it, nor could they gain an inch of ground beyond their line of stockades.

Tuanku Mahomed Taip was about this time obliged to

time had a garrison of seventy Siamese troops only and three hundred Malays. The latter did not at first show any sign of defection nor until assailed by the strongest possible motives for it. Unfortunately the families of those auxiliaries were residing at Thubang Ratan, a little way up the river, where they fell into the hands of Taip. As the latter approached the fort he placed all these people in front of his advanced party, so as to expose them to the shot of the garrison. By this means and before the Malays had become aware of this detestable and inhuman measure, three of the old men and to* women had been killed, and many wounded. When the Malays became aware of it they left the fort and joined Tuanku Mahomed

* *Sic ? 10.*

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return to Keddah to detail a supply of ammunition.

The force from Chana under Echee having joined Taip's at Sangora, the whole now consisted of about 4,500 men. Still they were ultimately, after 2½ months of futile warfare, compelled to break up and retreat precipitately, owing to the Siamese army of Ligor having intercepted this retreat on Keddah.

I have entered above into the details of the Malayan campaigns as these may serve to show up and refute the gross misrepresentations which, for party purposes, the Penang Gazette has indulged in when adverting to Keddah affairs.

The Chiefs in Keddah, congratulating themselves on the expected speedy fall of Sangora, being quite unaware that the Ligorian's troops had already crossed the Keddah frontier, dispatched Seyd Hoassein with three hundred men to augment the Sangorian's army. But he had only reached the distance of a march from the Ganoo, close to Keddah fort, when he encountered the Siamese advance of one thousand strong.

After a short resistance he and Wan Soo Haphim, an inferior Chief, with thirty men were killed and the party was dispersed.

The Siamese immediately attacked Aler Ganoo, the central post in Keddah which, lying on the north bank of the river, commands the chief communication with the interior. This post was carried after a contest of six hours. The loss of this occasion was considerable on both sides.

The Chiefs Tuanku Mahomed Saat, Tuanku Abdulla, Tuanku Tumamee and Tuanku Taip Puteh retreated and shut themselves up with a few men in the Keddah Fort. The Siamese advanced and carried the intrenchment of Sungei Bharu and soon after became masters of the fort.

Taip. The Siamese left the fort during the ensuing night, retreating in the direction of Purlis. The Malays then took quiet possession. Chawsing, the Siamese Governor, pushed into Sattool and from thence to Daloong (the Bandelon of the maps). He however established a small party of about 250 Siamese and also 200 Malays who had not joined the insurgents. Near the north boundary of Keddah, by concealing themselves in the jungles, these men were able to sally forth occasionally and to annoy the force under Wan Wait Tap, consisting of about 500 men, which had been sent to keep them in check.

The Malayan insurgents had been led to believe that the Siamese were much stronger here than they were; the Siamese officers too did not scruple to keep up the deception, and when brought by the Ligorian's agents to confer with the Honble. the Governor, Mr. Bonham, they boldly affirmed that the Siamese force in the vicinity of Trauy* was not under six thousand strong and they could only account for their inactivity by the evasion that they were waiting for the arrival of the Raja of Ligor before attempting to to retake Keddah.

* *Sic.*

The population of the Province of Keddah when the Fort fell may be rated at about twenty thousand persons (a) of all ages, but of this the insurgents drew betwixt four and five thousand fighthing men, and the Siamese betwixt two and three hundred. To these first were added the contingent from Penang and Province Wellesley so that the rebel force consisted of seven thousand men at the outset, but of this army there were eight hundred men employed in the carriage of stores and otherwise as coolies and servants. Perak sent five boats.

(a). This rate is the highest assigned by my native informants. I am however inclined to rate the population there at 16,000 only.

This force was disposed of as follows :—

Keddah Fort under Tuanku Mahomed Saad	400	
Alar Gano Tuanku Mahomed Taip Puteh	200	
Purlis 150 Wan Mat Ally and Fleet . .	350	
(Purlis and Trang were taken possession of ten days after Keddah Fort had fallen.)		
Sattool Taip and Lungoo-Wan Keip (or Mat Taip or Payeip)	500	
Scattered parties at Muda River, &ca., &ca.	300	
Total troops in Keddah ...	1,750	
Puteh also Panglima Behar and Tuanku Jaffar Sangora Detachment ...	3,000	
Chana (Akil Echi) Do. ...	700	
Patain Do.	550	
Watching the Ligorian at Jangam close [to] the Keddah frontier ...	1,000	
		5,250
Total ...		7,000

Perak contingent sent by Panglima Bukit Gantang to Keddah 100 men in five boats under Rajah Saman and Mat Tuanku Bar and—

Do. sent to Patan from Perak 300 under Tuanku Muda Mer, father-in-law of the Orang Raja Besar Patain insurgents—Not ascertained.

The grand total of the insurgent forces would, including those of Patan and Perak perhaps be about 10,000

The Siamese force which re-took Keddah consisted of—

Advance	The advance under Chow Phiom Malak which took [blank] consisted of 500 men, was at the frontier with 1000 men ...	1,500	
			1,500
Reserve	Reserve beyond Pho on the East frontier never engaged		3,500
	Do. of Bankok troops at Sangora never employed are rated at ...		6,000
	Total Siamese Force		11,000

Sangora Raja.

About this period the Malays were or pretended to be buoyed up by the hope that the Court of Siam would allow the Malayan Government of Keddah to be restored upon payment of an annual tribute. If in earnest in this hope they adopted the very line of conduct best calculated to dissipate it, by sending emissaries to invite *Patan* people to rebellion against Siam and the arraying of a large force on the Force* of Sangora.

*Sic. ? *frontier.*

The Raja of Sangora had to gain time by pretending to intercede with the Chief of Siam for the Ex Raja's restoration.

The Raja of Sangora when he found that his own province was thus unexpectedly invaded by the insurgents, endeavoured to gain time by encouraging overtures from the Malays and holding out some vague hopes of the nature alluded to. He confidently expected too, that by so doing the Malayan Chiefs would fall into his power while thrown off their guard.

But the Raja had reason to repent of his stratagem (a) for the Malayan Chiefs sent a party with the intention of negotiating, and when they at length discovered that they had little or no chance of succeeding in this way they took advantage of their position to attack Sangora.

It is highly improbable that the Siamese will ever relinquish their sovereignty over Keddah unless compelled [to] it by superior force. Should the Court of Bankok ever be induced to deviate from the line of policy it has so tenaciously preserved for the past eighteen years it hardly can be doubted that it will never while so doing place any bar in the way to an after resumption of its delegated authority, when jealousy of its neighbours, or cupidity may impel it. Had the Malays confined their operations to Keddah the Siamese might not have laid much stress on these, however mischievous the result.

If that proud Court should retrace [its] policy so far as to restore the Ex Raja or some one of his family to the Government of Keddah it would certainly not be out of any regard for either, and the insult put upon the Siamese by the presumptuous invasion of their integral Province of Sangora and also of Chana and Patan will not, it may be believed, be soon forgotten. Neither will the atrocities committed by Tuanku Mahomed Saad on the Siamese prisoners be left unrequited at some future period, while the rash intermeddling of the Perak Malays in the contest may help to increase their implacability.

The Siamese have not as yet remonstrated on this invasion of Lower Siam by the Malays of Penang. It must be, however, a sore subject with them.

Had the Malays confined their operations to Keddah the indignation of the Siamese Court would not have been by any means excessive.

(a). It is believed that the Rajah of Sangora did submit that case to Siam but not as the Malays desired.

Keddah has been nearly ruined by these invasions which she has sustained, and the frequent drains on her population which have succeeded them. For Siam, therefore, her deepest policy and the one she is likely to adopt would be to restore the Malayan rule until such time as that population should have returned or have been recruited and the resources of the country, so injured by the late ravages, should have been reestablished, and then suddenly to resume the direct control, on one of the numerous pleas or pretences which it would take care to have ever ready at hand, or by taking advantage of one of the many openings which Malayan ignorance and presumption could not fail to afford in course of time, so that the last condition of the Malays would be worse than the first unless indeed, and this seems to be very improbable, it should league with them against the British. If Keddah should be restored in concert with the British Government the latter can only mediate for the best conditions which a tributary can make with its real superior and master.

Were the above not the policy which should actuate the Siamese, it can hardly however be expected that while the British hold their Straits possession the Court of Bankok will feel disposed to treat with the Malays singly. A guarantee would doubtless be required or asked of the former for the performance by the Malays of such conditions as might be stipulated for, while the Keddah Malays might expect a similar guarantee for their being allowed to retain peaceable possession of that country.

Were such to be acceded it might be doubtful if the British Government would not at some future period be obliged to take a more direct interest, and interfere more openly in Siamese affairs, as regarded Keddah, than had ever before been forced on it by circumstances or at least might be convenient.

It is not easy for any one who has studied the Malayan character to help entertaining the belief that no dependence can be put on it for the preservation of the external peace of that province were it returned to the Malays. Even admitting that Keddah, if returned to the Ex Rajah's family, might not involve itself with the Siamese, yet what security could be given for its internal peace. The Ex Raja must probably pay the debt of nature. His eldest son, Abdulla, is weak and addicted to opium, and the other base, although less weak, would still be the tool were he to succeed, in the hands of his Chiefs.

The other branches of that family are numerous, and they mostly all [have] been educated in dissipated, if not piratical habits.

When these jealous or ambitious schemes should have distracted Keddah it might be no easy matter to prevent their giving umbrage in a thousand ways to the Siamese nation, which would still closely hem them in upon the north and east. The Malays of [the] present Malayan States are fit for little else than plunder. Fond too of strong, yet shortened excitement, they are too often the children of caprice and passion; devoid of steady purposes and of confidence

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Further Abstract Account of the Keddah War.

Tuanku Mahomed Saat being induced to believe that he might be able to persuade the Siamese to let the Ex Raja return to Keddah went with Che Teh to negotiate with the Sangora Raja.

He had five hundred men with him. On reaching the frontier of that Province he sent on Che Teh to prepare for his reception, but the former was not permitted to pass beyond Mam Nae. Tuanku Mahomed Saad remained forty days at Jamgam in that province in fruitless attempts to gain his point. Raja Sai and Blat Chai, who came on the part of the Sangora Chief, were too practised diplomatists not to take advantage of the disregard which the Malays showed for a time to gain so valuable an accessory to the ulterior operations of the Ligorians.

Tuanku Mahomed Saad therefore returned to Keddah and Tuanku Mahomed Taip advanced from that place to the Sangora frontier at Phoong-Pho with a force of three thou-

in themselves, the general mass of the people is ever apt to become a ready but temporary instrument or tool in the hands of some reckless plotter or frenzied fanatic.

It is to be feared too, if we may judge from experience, that any quarrel which the Malays might get up with the Siamese or *vice versa* would find plenty of supporters, as they have ever found, in the Straits Settlements on the Malayan side—who would rejoice to see a break betwixt the Siamese and English.

The Court of Bankok, should it yield so far as to recall the Ex Rajah, might as a matter of right claim the ten thousand dollars per annum now paid to him by the British Government, by virtue of the original Malayan treaty, the Siamese being *de jure* the rulers of Keddah.

Their right to Keddah has been recognised by the English Government and it is based on a supremacy exerted over that country before Keddah was taken completely under direct management by the Siamese. Subsequently to the Ex Raja's expulsion the sum alluded to was paid to the Ex Raja (then Raja) by the British Government, without alluding to or acknowledging his relations with Siam. For as I have before noticed, when the Treaty just alluded to was made the then Raja studiously kept the fact out of sight or rather denied it. But the Treaty of Bankok tacitly admits the right of the British to hold Penang and its dependency on the opposite coast, and this without any advertence to the treaty of Sir George Leith.

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sand Malays (*a*). The Sangora force soon after arrived at Sidda, East or [a] short way from Phoong-Pho, where the Chiefs of the two parties reciprocated civilities and had several conferences, which ended in mutual distrust. Phanglima Berar was then in charge of the advance. The Sangora troops were nearly equal in numerical strength to the Malays.

(a). These remained in Keddah, Tuanku Mahomed Saad, Tuanku Abdulla, Mahomed Taip and Tuanku Mahomed Sinawi.

But the case would be now altered. The Keddah tribute would virtually be paid by the British Government either directly or indirectly. The Ex Raja, if so reinstated could have no legal claim to such tribute, for this was stipulated for when he professed himself independent of Siam and was given under the belief that he was so, by the British Government, when Sir George Leith made the Treaty with him. But that Treaty has been annulled by the Treaty of Bankok, in as much as the latter recognised the right of the Emperor of Siam to possess Keddah, and if this be the case, and the Siamese do not give up that right, then the British Government could not negotiate directly with the Ex Raja, or any other Malayan [or] other Chief who might be placed in authority in Keddah by the firman of the Court of Bankok.

Both Mr. Crawfurd and Capt. Burney continually avoided mooting this subject being aware that the Siamese had claimed Penang once as a dependency of Siam.

It is not easy to foretell what stress that haughty Court, notwithstanding all the lessons it has had, might put at some future day on the fact of tribute or quit rent being paid in the manner alluded to. This would not certainly (with reference merely to the relative strength of the British and Siamese), be a matter of much moment, and the Treaty of Bankok and subsequent agreement with the Raja of Ligor which is based on that Treaty, may be thought sufficient acknowledgment of the right of the British to

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But as about one hundred Patan men, whose fidelity could not be depended upon, were against the number, the Sangora Commanders prepared to retreat. It appears that on the insurrection breaking out in Keddah the Patan Chiefs subject to and holding offices of Siam, were called to Sangora, which gave the old and disaffected Chiefs an opportunity of which several availed themselves of aiding the Keddah rebels.

Rajah Muda and Me Kong joined the Siamese with one thousand men, but the latter soon deserted and left these Chiefs behind them.

The two hostile forces now stockaded themselves opposite each other and made warlike demonstrations for several days.

The Siamese at length, under their General Chom

possess Penang and Province Wellesley. But the Siamese, although they may appear to moderate their pretensions, may not be supposed on that account to have altogether abandoned them.

It can scarcely be expected that the Malays and Siamese will ever be friends at heart. Religion, were there nothing else, will always be a stumbling block in the way of this unless, which is highly improbable, the Siamese should become Mussulman. The feeling of the Siamese towards the Malays is one of mixed distrust and contempt, while the feelings of the latter towards the former are chiefly those of fear and hatred, tempered with a distrust of themselves.

The whole history of Keddah since the British occupation of Penang sufficiently proves these positions, and points moreover to the fact that to bring on a war betwixt the British and the Siamese was always a primary object with its rulers and perhaps nothing but the reiterated injunctions of the Siamese Government to the former Straits Government, averted that event.

It might not be difficult to anticipate the results to the Settlement of Prince of Wales Island which might or would be induced by the restoration of the Malayan rule in Keddah. It can be hardly doubted that the former would lose a portion of its population,

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*Soorin, attacked the Malays who where them headed by Panglima Besar. But the Patan troops declining to fight with vigor the Siamese were forced back. The Malays lost nine men killed and had five wounded by one account but by another account, which seems most correct, 17 Malays were killed and ten wounded, and three Siamese were killed.

The Malays at this juncture had been reinforced by the parties which were in the rear under Tuanku Mahomed Taip, Tuanku Mahomed Jaffer and Tuanku Mahomed Sriva, amounting to two thousand one hundred men, so that the united force was about 3,000 Malays of Keddah and a few irregulars of Patan, of little account.

When the Siamese were retreating they fell into an ambush laid by the Malays by which they lost thirty men.

not merely Malayan, the worst part of which might well be spared, but Chinese, the most industrious class and the best payers of revenue. The population of the Settlement is yet far from having reached to the point when a drain to it would be advantageous, on the contrary it could well admit a large access to its numbers. A diminution therefore of the population would likely affect to a certain degree the prosperity of the colony and the revenue of the State.

The trade of Keddah was never deserving of mention after the cession of Penang, and it is not likely to be ever revived to such an extent as to render it an object to the merchant. The trade of that country, which was never much, has centred in Penang ever since the act of cession and will there continue to centre. The concentrated and protected population too of a British Settlement is much more likely to gain a taste for, and to consume more British manufactures than one which is dispersed over a wide space, which looks not beyond securing the barest supply of food and clothing and whose slavish subjection to despotic rule blocks up every avenue to improvement in taste, arts or morals.

The present population raises supplies for the station and shipping and renders them independent of the neighbouring petty States.

A reduction in the quantity and enhanced price of such supplies might be expected to follow a diminution

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Chom Soorin stockaded himself at Langavi where he continued twenty days, contesting the advance of the Malayan force. At the end of that time Raja Tai arrived with a force of three thousand Patan men and informed the Malayan Chiefs that the Raja of Sangora desired to negociate. Chom Soorin being thus relieved instantly retreated, leaving Sai in charge of the stockade.

The Malayan Chiefs now detached a force to the Siamese district of Chana in order to co-operate with a detachment which had been sent there from Keddah a month previous under the command of one of their Chiefs in order to gain further delay.

in the number of the working classes, and the deficiency would require to be drawn from Keddah, thus rendering Penang again in a measure dependent as in former times on that country, supposing always that the latter had recovered herself, and making it liable to have its supplies cut off by any disturbance there, or political misunderstandings elsewhere.

It would be strange if the Malays should not have been improved by their long residence under British rule. Any advantages therefore which superior civilisation may have conferred would be lost, and the Malay would revert to his former lawless condition, and Penang would be infested with a roving, vagrant population, vacillating between it and Keddah. Thus it would have to begin its education anew, while crime would have increased.

Keddah too would be a convenient asylum for desperate men, and for the piratical boats which come up the Straits in search of bird nests.

It seems very probable if not certain that the Court of Bankok considers that [the] British Government is more inclined to favour the Malays than Siam. It could hardly fail to be of this opinion when pressed on its notice by the Straits Journals, which find their way to Siam and are read to the Courtiers or explained to them by others.

Raja Sai now opened a negotiation with Tuanku Mahomed Taip with the view of further delaying his advance, but the latter only took so far the advantage of it as to endeavour to surprise the Siamese garrison. He accordingly sent Haji Tomalli with a flag of truce and three hundred men on pretence of holding a conference with Raja Sai. Much rain fell which defeated the plot this time. But soon after the Ligorian sent a second time. This excited Sai's suspicions who threatened to stab Haji Tomalli. The latter arose from the conference and striking down with his elbow Mekan Sibber, a man of influence with Sai's party, departed quickly from the stockade.

Raja Sai fled on the ensuing night to Bindong Dilong and joined Juvius' force. The Malayas pursued in two

The Siamese have not yet been able through the despotic atmosphere which envelopes them to foresee any just conception of the licence or liberty of the subject as opposed to the wishes of his Government. It is to be feared therefore, that the licence of the press may be confounded, in the untaught mind of the Siamese politicians, with the spirit of the counsels of the British Government in India.

Were any proposition for the restoration of the Ex Raja to be made to it, therefore, by the British Government that suspicious and wary Court might expect concessions [in] return.

It is well known that any concessions which have been yielded to the British by that Court have been granted with an ill dissembled reluctance, while the Americans, who have had no difficulties arising from proximity of territorial boundaries to contend with, have been enabled to conclude a mercantile treaty on more favourable terms than those which have been conceded to the British nation.

The Court of Bankok it may by supposed will not readily forego the advantages it derives from the Treaty of 1826.

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parties, which seems to have been their usual order of march or pursuit. Each was a considerable way apart. The first consisting of 1,500 men was led by Tuanku Mahomed Jiva, Tuanku Jaffer, and the second of similar strength by Tuanku Mahomed Taip. The first column reached Pri, while Raja Sai retreated on Tha Ta abat, a ferry on a river of that name.

The Malays pushed on to Campong Nior where they destroyed a small brick Buddhist temple. In this they found some small gold and silver images and the model of a ship in silver, but all of little value

At Pangla the Malays were arrested in their march for six weeks by the Siamese, but there was little or no fighting and only casualities by death on the Malayan side. The Malayan troops then broke ground and tried to out flank the Siamese position. But the latter gave ground.

? Robat. At Tha Too Oobat the Siamese army made a stand. Tuanku Mahomed Taip obliged them to take up a position

The times have so altered since then that much which the Treaty contains could be now spared. Were the Ex Raja to be restored by the Siamese the obligations of the Treaty as regards that Chief would probably cease.

It is these obligations alone which cause the distractions in Keddah to be at all felt in Penang, as they have been by creating opposition in the minds of the people.

But even if the Treaty just spoken of did not exist still there would be difficulty in securing the public peace arising from other sources.

There is international law to be considered. For if armies of three or four thousand men or upwards should periodically march from the British territory to invade the Siamese Provinces, the right of retaliation could hardly be denied to the Siamese. Fear with them might for a time prevent open war betwixt them and the British but they would nevertheless annoy the trader to these parts and bring on a restless position of affairs along the extensive mutual frontiers.

The Siamese have regained Keddah and if they hold it, it will* we may believe be retained as a point of honor. The Malays will doubtless continue to make periodical attacks on that country.

* *A word illegible here.*

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on the south bank of the river. Here after skirmishing for some days the Siamese again retreated. The Malays lost three men only at this ferry; the ardour of both parties therefore could not have been great. Their great champion in all these affairs was Tuanku Saad who was subsequently killed in Keddah and but for whose prowess there would have been no fighting by the Malays except in self defence.

Tha Too Oobat is the chief ford or ferry on the route betwixt Sangora and Keddah. In the dry season the river is fordable to foot passengers. Boats of about four coyans burden can pass up to Kapanu

The Siamese having retreated the Malays descended along the banks of the river Too Obat. Tuanku Mahomed Taip took the north and Panglima Prore and To Druman the south bank. Tuanku Mahomed Iriva brought up the

and if the Siamese do not either keep a strong garrison there, which it is rather doubtful if they will, or colonize it by several thousand of their own race, which they perhaps cannot do without a sacrifice incommensurate with the hoped for advantage, they will be liable to reverses such as they have hitherto experienced. If Sian. is determined to prevent them, then the Malays can never be strong enough to permanently regain Keddah. Their Chiefs too by their impolitic harshness towards the Malays who followed them in their late enterprize have in a great measure quenched the zeal of the latter, and might not find so many flock to aid them again in attacking the Siamese. They still give out however that they intend again attacking Keddah and that they are remaining in Perak for the purpose. If the Perak people were not justly suspected of pusillanimity they might be incited to hostility against the Siamese in Keddah and thus a double war would ensue which would only end by extending the Siamese possessions to the north boundary of Salengore. This small chieftainship would soon fall also, and leave the Siamese contiguous with the Malacca territory on the northern boundary of the country.

The Perak Raja or his chief men rather, since they are the real soldiers of authority, has or have committed* the country with the Siamese, for in the

* ? connected.

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rear. The Siamese having reformed at a place called Ban Kachai, Tuanku Mahomed Taip followed and had an affair with the former in which he lost twelve men, while the Siamese had only three wounded. The Samese finally fell back to Pukit Arrak Gajar, a hill lying about several miles from Sangora The Malayan force was now about 1,500 able bodied men But ammunition began to fail the troops and this compelled Tuanku Mahomed Taip to return to Keddah for a supply, but he did not return.

The Malays now established a line of nine stockades stretching from near the shore of Me Nam Nor on their left, to Bukit Arrak Gajar. Beyond this Panglima Echee, who had arrived from Chana, entrenched his Malays consisting of 1,200 men. This investing did not embrace operations by water which their means did not admit of.

first instance as before noticed, the Chief on the coast, Panglima Paukit Gantong sent five armed boats to join Tuanku Mahomed Saad in Keddah. These boats were placed in charge of Raja Soman Mat To Boo and Che Meen and the Tuanku Mahomed Muder Mer, the father in law of the Orang Raja Besar, one of the Ministers of Perak, marched into the Patan country and joined the insurgents, who were under the command of Wan Sahak and Wan Mat Malow.

The Siamese are highly offended at the asylum which the rebel chiefs have formed in Penang for their persons and for the plunder of Keddah, and it can hardly be denied that when this fact is added to those facts just related and advertence is had to the Treaty of Bangkok they have good reasons for being so. They have, too, manifested a coldness since the recovery of Keddah quite the reverse of that displayed after the discomfiture of Kudin in 1831, and I feel persuaded that nothing can prevent them taking speedy vengeance on the Perak Country but the fear of offending the British Government, which they consider to be on the side of the Malays. The Siamese could take Perak at any time with one thousand men, or even much fewer, for they can always rely on internal treachery there as in former days.

These stockades or rather breastworks were about five to eight feet high and composed of felled fruit and other trees and materials of demolished houses. The arrangement was thus—

1 Panglima Besar
2 Tuanku Jaffer
3 Tuanku Syad
4 Tuanku Syed
5 Tuanku Mahomed Taip.
6 Paglima Prorce
7 To Lela
8 Panglima Take
9 Panglima Echee

Siamese Entrenchments.

Chinese	500
Patan, Malays and Siamese	2,000
	2,500

The chief, if not the only palpable advantage, to counterbalance the disadvantage of the measure which the British could gain from the restoration of the Ex Raja's family would probably be the getting rid of the obligations contained in the 13th article of the Treaty of Bangkok. Were it not for these, the distractions in Keddah would hardly be felt in Penang. It would indeed be most desirable that the public peace in the vicinity of this trading position should be preserved, but the difficulty of finding sufficient security for this would be considerable.

If the obligations alluded to could be got rid of in any way, leaving the Malays and Siamese to settle their own disputes as they best might, there would still remain the perplexing task of preventing British subjects engaging in the wars or politics of Keddah and Siam and so leading to misunderstandings with the latter.

Keddah has now again reverted to the Siamese rule, but if the Emperor does not encourage a *Siamese* population which perhaps cannot be spared from Siam, or does not keep an adequate military force in the country, a matter involving some but no great expense, it hardly can be doubted that the Malays will make periodical plundering attacks on Keddah. That they will ever hold permanent possession of that tract by

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The Chinese of Sangora having formed counter works sent a party and manfully stormed the entrenchments of Panglima Poosee in the left of the line with five hundred men. They had but few muskets and they advanced with their long pikes or Tat in hand covered by high moveable shields or screens of plank. They here drove back the Malays with some loss. But the latter regained the position soon after. They had arrived in topes by the Me Mam Nae from Sangora. These returned and remained entrenched opposite to the Malayan line. The Malays here stood on the defensive and repulsed several other attempts to break their line. So close did the Chinese (who were about 500 men) approach, that they actually spiked some of the Malayan wall pieces. During these and other minor affairs the Chinese lost thirty men and the Malays about a hundred.

Arms.
At the beginning of the war the insurgents had about 600 muskets, latterly they had about 1,200 besides.

force of arms in face of the power of Siam seems to be impossible. It is even to be supposed that the Malays of Penang will not be so eager to enter into the views of their chiefs, who can only have, if any, a moral authority over them, because they have been greatly distressed by the extreme severities practised towards them by their chiefs.

The War beyond the frontier.

But to return to the operations in Sangora, the whole column (if such term can be applied to a rabble Malayan army) pursued the Sangorians to Tharam, where they had stockaded themselves, and having driven them out of that place, they pushed onwards to Ta Oobat where the Sangorians kept them at bay for a month.

The Siamese force was here joined by a Patan one of 1000 men under Raja Sai but it was still forced* to Nam Noe. The party under Wan Tha and Wan Mat Pulowe now marched to Chana, the villages of which they first plundered and next the town which lies on the Chana river, about a tide up from the sea. The Chinese and Siamese inhabitants fled to Sangora, and the Buddhist priests took refuge in the hills. The Malays

* *Sic.*

The Malays had no cannon and the Sangorians only fired occasionally from three guns of different calibre. Tuanku Iriva's party suffered most. The Malays kept on the defensive during the whole of his siege, when their only chance of success, if indeed they had even a chance, depended on the most prompt and forward movements. But the mass of the Malays desired plunder without having to fight for it, and finding that none was likely to be had on such terms they were only kept in the ranks by a dread of the cruelty of their chiefs. Their chiefs claimed the lion's share of plunder, leaving little or nothing to their humble followers.

The Malayan force during its route through the Sangora country sacked and burned down the villages and destroyed the temples. Tuanku Mahomed Taip destroyed about thirty of the latter and promised the plunder of the two great pagodas of Anak Gaja to his men, but they could not be reached but through the Sangorian lines. Very little plunder was obtained. Several large idols formed of tin were melted down and carried off. Some buried property belonging to a Chinese at Wat Mai Nor, the extreme left of the position

having sacked and burnt the town and pagodas (about ten in number) left the vicinity; the images which they found in the temples and carried off were formed of tin—these they melted down into bars. Thence they proceeded to Ootah Bharoo and finally reached Kwalla Buka the mouth of the Patan River. Here the leaders hoped to be able to get boats to convey their force to the attack of Sangora, in which expectation they were disappointed.

Tuanku Mahomed Taip's force of 4,200 men advanced and invested the town of Sangora, which is a thriving mercantile Siamese port peopled chiefly by Chinese. This town being open to the sea the Malays could only partially invest it. For this purpose they built [?]eleven small stockades within a mile of the town, which they vainly hoped to plunder. After they had been about 2½ months in this inactive state, the Sangorians, who had purposely abstained from interrupting their invaders until they should have been better prepared, went out against them with a force of five hundred Chinese and two thousand Siamese and Malays and drove the enemy from their vaunted frontier with considerable loss.

The Malays lost about 150 men during the whole operations in the Sangora country. The loss on the Siamese side was probably less, although the Malays rated it, as might be expected, very high.

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was got by Tuanku Mahomed Taip, the eyes of a large image of Buddha which sat between a tree directing, as the Malays affirm, to the spot. Thus then, deprecating as he does, idol worship and disbelieving as he does, or avers, the agency of idols, the Malay here superstitiously gives them credit for intrusion. Some Musselmans believe that such idols are animated by devils to deceive mankind. The above statement was taken from the mouth of a Malay who was present. Amongst other things the Malays carried off thirty elephants from the Sangora Province and sent two hundred Siamese prisoners to Keddah besides women and children. The former were massacred in cold blood, the two latter were carried away as slaves by the Chiefs.

Tuanku Mahomed Taip Puteh, and Syed Hoossein left the camp on a visit to Keddah to attend a festival, leaving Tuanku Mahomed Iriva in command. All this time it should seem that these chiefs had no correct intelligence of the movements of the Raja of Ligor. That wily chief saw his advantage, for by this mad expedition to Sangora the Malays had left Keddah with a slender force for its defence, and had exposed the Sangora one to have its retreat cut off.

Before either force therefore was aware of it the Sangorian* troops were pouring into Keddah.

* *Sic ! Ligorian.*

Syed Hossein was on his march back to Sangora with a party of 300 men when he encountered, most unexpectedly, the Siamese advance at a place a day's march east of Alor Gand. That Chief and an inferior one named Wan Soo Hashim with thirty Malays were killed and the rest fled.

The Siamese immediately attacked Alor Gand on the Keddah river, which from its favourable and commanding position on the river is deemed the next post to that Fort in consequence, and after a contest of about six hours, got possession of it.

The walls of Sangora, which are made of brick and are 12 feet high, were within view of some parts of the Malayan line. Thirty elephants were taken by the Malays. Tuanku Mahomed Iriva's column suffered most.

The Raja of Sangora had now fully accomplished his part of the manoeuvres for the recovery of Keddah. He had found that the Malays were not even eager to fight and that the bulk were only kept together by fear of their overbearing chiefs. It is reported that the latter urged them on not only with the lash but steel. The Malays sent about 200 Siamese prisoners to Keddah.

The Raja of Ligor sent a party to create an alarm in the rear of the Malayan line, and it immediately proceeded towards Keddah, leaving all confusion and dismay within their lines. Having thus fully completed his arrangements the vaunting Malays found that Keddah had been almost regained from Tuanku Mahomed Saad and that a body of 2,000 Siamese was on their line of retreat. All was now confusion and rout, each chief trying to escape as he best could, so that after losing a number of men in the retreat the

The Siamese now pressed on towards the Fort into which had gone the chiefs, Tuanku Mahomed Saat Abdulljah, Tuanku Mahomed Tinnawi and Tuanku Mahomed Taip Puteh. The day after they had so shut themselves up the Siamese attacked the breastwork at the watering place at Soongie Bharoo and carried it, and Panghula Setam, who defended it, fell back to the Fort. By this blow the Malays were deprived of fresh water, as the wells within the Fort are very brackish and the river is here mixed with salt water, while a salt marsh and mangroves extend around.

The facility with which the Siamese gained all these advantages supplies the best possible commentary on [the] alleged ability of the Malays to contend with Siam.

The Siamese next advanced to Kotah Janah, an earthen breastwork within a few hundred yards of the Fort. The Malayan Chiefs had by this time ordered all the women, old men and children to fly to Penang, which they did in small boats and by land. But many

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whole force dwindled down to a few hundred men who got into Keddah; the rest fled into Penang and Province Wellesley.

Each returned by Chana and reached Province Wellesley.

Chana Patan.

Chana is a Siamese District adjoining on the south the province of Sangora. The population may be about five thousand persons scattered about in hamlets. The Chief resides at Chandong, where there are about a dozen houses, which is distant about one tide from the sea. In the first instance the Chiefs Echi and Akil went from Keddah to Chana with 180 picked men, and attacking the small villages or hamlets in detail soon forced the inhabitants to retreat to Sangora. The houses were burned down and the pagodas of Nawa Cheng and Takoa Thap were destroyed in a fit of religious zeal.

At Chindong the Siamese Chief with a few followers made a show of resistance for the sake of escaping in the night which he effected.

The Malays had been here about a month when they were joined by seven hundred more men from the Keddah force under Che Mim and *

* *This note breaks off suddenly here.*

were so weak by the cruel detention they had met with, and the scarcity of proper food that they died by the way. The Siamese had previously proclaimed that these people would be protected, and doubtless had they been left to their own choice they might have remained. But humanity made no part of Mahomed Saat's policy. His object was not the happiness of these poor people but to leave to the Siamese a depopulated country.

Tuanku Mahomed Abdullah and the other Chiefs allowed their men to disperse, and sending a sampan or canoe with two fishermen in it out of the river, which easily evaded the frigate, they got into it at a neighbouring creek, and soon after reached Purlis.

It was now resolved to make one more attempt to regain the Fort. Intelligence was therefore quickly sent to the Sangora force to return to Alor Ganoo.

It should seem that the Patan column had dispersed even although it had been reinforced by 300 Perak Malays under To Muda Mer, the father in law of the Orang Kya Besar, a Minister of the Perak State.

The latter by this act, and by having also allowed Jaffer, a desperate character, to join Tuanku Mahomed Saad with five boats at Keddah, has, it is to be feared, given to the Siamese the means if they choose to avail themselves of it of again asserting their influence in Perak.

The Sangora column of 6,000 men, before it had well entered Keddah had melted away to a few hundred men. This party marched to Jiram, a place lying betwixt Keddah and Purlis, where it was soon after joined by the detachment under Tuanku Mahomed Saad and Wan Ally who brought up that portion of the Malayan force which had been left to protect Keddah and keep the Siamese parties at Sangora in check. The force was thus now again increased to 1000 men. It quickly advanced on Alor Ganoo, where

it was foolishly divided into two parties. Mahomed Ally with his men invested that post on the north bank, while Tuanku Mahomed Saad, seconded by Tuanku Mahomed Taip and Tuanku Mahomed Sinnawi and Panglima Pooree and Tuanku Dieva with his men occupied posts on the opposite bank of the Keddah river.

The Siamese speedily attacked both columns consecutively but chiefly the latter position, and forced the Malays of both to disperse, the Chiefs flying in the direction of Province Wellesley.

Mat Ali did not fight much as his object was to let Tuanku Mahomed Saad get time to escape. He kept therefore at a little distance gradually drawing off the Siamese.

The next day the Siamese continued the attack on Mat Ali first, which was defended until night by that Chief, as he was not aware of what had taken place on the opposite bank of the river. He then retreated during the night en route to Purlis, a district of Keddah, north of the Fort. In his progress he devastated the face of the country, forced the unhappy population out of their houses and then burned them to the ground, and this before time had been given them to save all their property, and then ordered them to leave Keddah and proceed to Penang.

The same scenes were repeated at Purlis, which was reduced to ashes. Thus the people who were living quietly and who were ready and willing to submit to the Siamese rule were cruelly driven from their houses and exposed, not only to a further loss of property, but of life, in effecting or trying to effect a journey or passage to Penang. It may here be asked [whether] the Siamese in their utmost wantonness ever visited these unfortunate people with a severer infliction. Certainly not. It seems that many of these oppressed people have fled to Batter Bhara as well as to Penang.

Tuanku Abdullah was now conveyed from a concealed creek called Qualla Pooryah beyond the blockading vessels and placed in safety in the Lancavy

Islands. He delivered himself up to the Honble. Mr. Bonham soon after.

Tuanku Mahomed Saad was believed to have got 10,000 dollars in goods and cash.

It is believed that much plunder was conveyed in this Chief's vessels besides captive Siamese women and children. The country now remained fully in the possesion of the Siamese.

The Malayan Chiefs fled to Perak and other distant places.

Thus after all the silly vaunting of the Ex Raja's Chiefs, and the echoing to it of their allies in Penang, the Malays may be said to have scarcely made a single stand after the Siamese entered Keddah, and to have scarcely exhibited any pugnacious symptoms except-ing on occasions were* they for the Siamese*. By their own admission they had eight thousand men in all under arms, yet they have allowed a thousand Siamese to drive them like a flock of sheep out of Keddah. This would not probably have been the case had not plunder been the only object of the Malayan invasion of Keddah. Pro patria mori was the boast of the Chiefs at the outset, the cover to cowardice and every atrocity in the end.

** Sic.? when they were forced by.*

Tuanku Mahomed Saad, when he fled from Alor Ganoo, occupied the north frontier of Province Wellesley for about a fortnight and until the Siamese approached. Here he seized the cattle which the emigrants were bringing from Keddah, and although he had levied a duty on them at Keddah he forced them again to give up 20 per cent of the cattle, which he immediately sold to people of Penang. He also seized all the arms belonging to these refugees. He ended by flying to Perak with his plunder.

Tuanku Mahomed Saad during this rebellion put several hundred prisoners to death in cold blood and in some instances in the most inhuman modes, and he cut off, on slight suspicions, the heads of many of his

own people, besides being the cause of 2,000 Malays having been killed in the contest. He has since given out that he has repented of his behaviour to his followers and that he will adopt a mild line of conduct in future expeditions. So fickle is the Malay that he may probably forget his present disgust should the standard of rebellion be again hoisted in Keddah.

The atrocities which the veracious Penang Gazette proclaimed had been committed by the Siamese on the Malays during the war, have [been] fully and satisfactorily refuted by evidence before the Grand Jury at Penang, not that such a Jury had any right to enter into such a subject, but it was as well it did to satisfy the public for and other* evidence. But the cry of the * was intended to distract the public mind from the true track and to drown the voices which were ready to denounce the villanies and atrocious acts of the Malayan Chiefs in Keddah, not only towards their prisoners but towards their own people. The Chief Tuanku Mahomed Saat killed in cold blood the following prisoners—

* *Sic.*

* *blank.*

Blat Chi, a Siamese Chief of Sangora, who, fell by *accident* into his hands* of Patan Yokkabat the late Siamese Chief officer at Muda River and his two young children. These children were about six or seven years old ; they [came] to visit me and behaved with great propriety. They had previously forced him to become by the usual rites a Mussulman and put him as driver of a gang of ironed Siamese prisoners, who were working on the road near the Keddah Fort.

* *There appears to be an omission here.*

The cries of these wretched men, mixed with the yells of the demoniacal Malays were distinctly, as Captain Warren assured me, heard on board his vessel.

The whole of this gang of 120 Siamese were put to death at the same time and the cries and noise attendant on this most savage massacre was heard, I have been informed by an officer of His Majesty's Ship Hyacinth, on board of that vessel.

Khoon Seet, another Siamese Chief of Trang (a place which, although never a part of Keddah, the

Malays took) and many inferior Siamese prisoners who were captured at various times at Trang, Sangora, Chana and Patan, were all inhumanly slaughtered in cold blood.

A Bengal man named Hassan Ally, formerly a Sepoy in the Penang Local Corps, having foolishly joined the Malays, was latterly accused, falsely it is said, of some treasonable intent, and when the Siamese were approaching the Fort, Tuanku Mahomed Saad called him and said that as his heart was false it should be exposed. They ripped him down from hence to the abdomen and then threw him out behind the Fort where he lay in torture until death relieved him in about eight hours after.

Malayan Statements

Malays Killed.

At Qualla Muda	1
,, Marbow	5
,, Keddah	75
,, Purlis	7
,, Sattool	160
,, Jangam	40
,, Sangora	180
,, Patan	120
,, Margano and other places	60
Desultory—vizt.—Deaths at sea, in camp &ca. including women and children ...	200
Total	958

Malayan Accounts of Siamese losses.

At Muda River, Marbow and Keddah	197
,, Purlis	117
,, Sattool	250
,, Trang	55
,, Jangam	110
,, Sangora	250
,, Patan	20
Prisoners put to death in cold blood	124
	1023

It is satisfactory to reflect that during the whole of this foolish, yet barbarous contest, the mass of Malays did not exhibit any symptoms of discontent towards the British Government, and it is creditable to them when it is known that their chiefs had the weekly aid, for more than a year, of the British Press, towards exciting their minds to revolt against their rulers. The Chiefs are hardly exceptions, for some of them left their families in security under the British flag at Penang, as did all the common men who followed them from that Settlement. Indeed the Malays were too well aware of the value of the only asylum remaining to them from the ambition of the Siamese, a people who in their sober periods they fear, and who all confess they can never hope to contend with single handed. But whatever the result might have been these ryots knew full well the incalculable benefits such asylums as Penang and Province Wellesley afford from the oppression of the Native Rulers, and the latter district, containing nearly 50,000 persons, continued as quiet internally the whole time as if no war had been going on. Nor did that population require to be watched by one armed policeman beyond the common and very moderate complement. The guard of sepoys which was sent occasionally to the north extremity at the Muda River was intended to protect the population from lawless gangs from beyond the boundary.

The Penang Press made several insane attempts to instil into the mind of the Malays that the policy of the English Government regarding Keddah would justify discontent and even something more. And if these failed of effect it argues that the mass of our Malayan subjects are quite satisfied with their position

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Of these men 533 are said to have been Siamese, the rest Malays with 1 Bengalee, 2 Chinese.

It is probable that the Malays have exaggerated the numbers included on the Siamese side.

and that the war of Keddah was to them at first one of pastime and plunder, however disagreeable it afterwards became, and that not one tenth of the whole had any other or ulterior object than plunder.

[The remaining portion of this chapter deals almost exclusively with piracy, and has therefore been omitted. It contains an account of the expedition organised by the Honble. Mr. Bonham and Captain Chadds, R. N.]

CHAPTER X.

Condition of Keddah.

The war at Keddah which had terminated so much to the disadvantage of the Malays left that country, as might have been anticipated, in a state of great disorder, and as its population has since then been much reduced by immigration to Penang and Province Wellesley, the formerly cultivated tracts have, in many places, reverted to jungle.

The Court of Bankok considered it expedient to place the Keddah Malayan Chief, Tuanku Anoon, who had adhered to its interests during the war, in authority in Keddah, and gave to him as his co-adjutor Tuanku Hossain, a merchant of Penang and a connexion of the Ex Raja. But it was found and confessed by the Malays who remained in Keddah that the rule of these men was more severe and exacting than that even of the Siamese, so that but very few of the Malays who had fairly settled under British rule returned to Keddah although invited to do so by flattering promises.

The Chow Phriya of Ligor was recalled to Siam (and as has been reported) on some charges preferred against him by the Siamese Governor of Sangora, one of which it has been hinted was that he was over attached to the English.

This Chief who was one of the ablest men Siam has ever been possessed [of] died at Bankok, and was succeeded by one of his sons.

When Tuanku Mahomed Sáad had lost Keddah he took refuge with a few armed boats in a winding narrow creek in the Perak Country, which communicated with the Krean River near to its mouth and opposite to the English territory. He was leaving this position with an intention of flying to Sumatra when he was seized by a gunboat sent for the purpose by the chief authority at Penang, and he was subsequently sent up before the Court of Judicature there to be tried for piracy. The case was however thrown out on the plea of "no Jurisdiction" and because it was considered by the Court that this man had been lawfully fighting to regain from the Siamese a country (Keddah) to which the latter nation had no right. So that this free booter who had taken care to fill his purse with the plunder both of friends and foes while he held sway in Keddah, and who had robbed the native traders of Penang, not only before and during that period but *after* he had been expelled and his power had ceased, was sent out of H. M.'s Court of Justice as an injured man and a martyr to English policy? He was however forthwith sent up to Calcutta by order of the Supreme Government and after strenuous opposition from the Court of Judicature there, no doubt the result of want of due information as to the merits of the case, and torrents of invective from the equally misinformed periodicals, he was conveyed up the country and placed in safe custody.

At Penang, party spirit ran so high that the affairs of Keddah had no chance at any time, far less then, of being calmly discussed.

For some years the state of the land revenue of the Straits Settlement had come under the review of the Supreme Government, and a Legislative Act had been passed regarding it.

It would require a space much larger than the limits of this memoir can spare for an elucidation of this important subject. However it is understood that arrangements are now in progress for a final settlement of landed interests, which will give to the occupiers a permanent interest in the soil. At the beginning of this paper reference has been given to the various documents regarding it.

The Honble. the Governor, Mr. Bonham, had been for some time endeavouring to soften the feelings of the Court of Siam towards the Ex Raja of Keddah. Accordingly the younger son of that Chief, Tuanku Daee, was dispatched by his father to the Court, bearing letters from his father and from Mr. Bonham. The time seemed propitious for such an intercession, for since the Burmese war the Siamese had been greatly enlightened as to the extent of the British power and had been manifest gainers by the Treaty which followed that war. They had therefore, one may feel assured, every disposition to hold fast the Treaty of Bankok. Lastly, the British operations in China and the success with which these had been crowned had not, we may believe, been lost on Siam.

Tuanku Daee was favourably received at Court and the Ex Rajah has been allowed by it to return to Keddah.

That Court addressed a letter to the Honble. Mr. Bonham for the information of the Right Honble. The Governor General of British India, of which the following is a summary—

1. The Court enters into a long detail of the events which led to the expulsion of the Chow Phriya or Governor of Keddah, commonly called the Ex Raja by the English, and also of the events subsequently to the period of his expulsion, in order fully to develop the real situation of that Chief with relation to Siam.

The principal points insisted on under this head are—

1. That the Chow Phriya withheld the gold and silver flowers, as marks of vassalage, which had always been paid before that time.

2. That he added to this disrespectful conduct a disobedience of the orders he received from the Court.

3. That he had invited His Majesty of Ava to invade the lower Provinces of Siam and offered to co-operate with the Keddah people against him.

4. That the Chow Phriya and his people refused to assist as in duty bound, they being lieges of Siam, the troops of the Emperor of Siam in repelling the expected invasion.

5. That this contumacy and rebellious behaviour of Keddah was at the time highly detrimental to the interest of the Siamese because the ports of Keddah lie along the western sea and are therefore exposed to Burmese hostile fleets, while the unfettered possession of them by Siam enables her to build and fit out fleets of armed boats and prahus for the defence of her lower provinces.

6. That the Chow Phriya's sons and adherents had thrice invaded Keddah after he had fled from it.

7. That he had intrigued with the Rajahs of Perak and Salangore to invade Keddah.

8. That he had never ceased to try all he could to expel the Siamese from Keddah and this notwithstanding the pledge given to the Ligor Raja of Keddah by Captain Burney who was sent by the Penang Government to treat with his Highness there that the Chow Phriya would not be allowed to molest Keddah.

9. That the Emperor was of opinion that since the religion, the laws and the customs of the Siamese [and the Malays] are quite distinct from each other,

it would be needless to expect that they would live peaceably together. Like oil and water they refused to mix.

Therefore His Majesty had resolved to govern Keddah in future by means of such Malayan Chiefs as might be found trustworthy and that with this object he had directed that this country should be divided into three Governments.

That as the Chow Phriya had supplicated at Court for forgiveness of all his past errors and rebellions, and had sent his son to prove at the royal feet his contrition and to express his desire to be hence forward an obedient servant to His Majesty, the latter had, on the representation of his Council, graciously permitted the Chow Phriya to go and reside at Keddah.

Finally that as the 13th Article of the Treaty of Bankok would, in the event of the Chow Phriya returning to Keddah, be rendered useless, His Majesty desired that it might be expunged.

The whole of this lengthy document betrays a determination in the Court of Bankok to hold fast its supremacy over the country of Keddah, and the right to treat it as one of the Lower Provinces of Siam.

The Ex Raja is merely styled *Chow Phriya*, which is equivalent to "Governor" and which is a title chiefly appertaining to a Governor of the first grade (a).

The Emperor here makes no promises. The Ex Raja is allowed to go and reside in Keddah, and when he shall have shown his obedience by proceeding there, the office of Governor will doubtless be bestowed upon him. His Majesty of Siam, if we may judge from the

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(a). In a paper on the Government of Siam, published in the Transactions of the Calcutta Asiatic Society (for 1836) I have [described] the various functionaries of the Empire.

general tenor of the document before us, makes the continuance of the Ex Raja or any of his family in authority in Keddah, to depend on his or their own conduct and continued fealty to Siam.

The Ex Raja will make a bad exchange of the security and independence he now enjoys under British rule for a distracted and subservient sway in Keddah. Should he however go there he will find himself placed in the same position with relation to Siam which he held when he left it, with this difference as to power only (and it is a considerable one) that instead of his having the Government of the whole country his share will not much exceed one-fourth part of it.(a) He will have to transmit annually to the Court of Bankok, through Ligor, the gold and silver flowers with their accompaniments, in acknowledgment of his direct dependence on Siam, such being required from all Governors of frontier provinces.

This mark of subjection costs but a small sum. The real revenue payable to Siam consists in the obligation, which has been imposed on the Governors of Keddah from time immemorial, and which will not be dispensed with we may believe hereafter, of supplying boats, men, munitions of war and rice for Siamese armaments, and in the performance of other feudal services in times of peace.

It was the enforcement of these services which formerly induced the Ex Raja to revolt from Siam.

(a). The Ex Raja will have the government of the coast stretching from the River Muda to Purlis, which may form an oblong square of 35 miles by * and which embraces the River Ligor [and] Fort of Keddah. She will be subject to Ligor.

* *illegible.*

Tuanku Diva will be Lieut. Governor of the adjoining district of Suttool and will be [subject to] Sangora. Tuanku Anom will have the upper country consisting of 24 parishes, and will be under Ligor.

The Raja of Sangora will settle the boundaries of these divisions.

The present policy of Siam is the best which she could have adopted for her own future interests. Keddah may gradually recover itself to a moderate extent, and the Court will always be able, without the trouble of direct interference in its internal affairs, to control its resources and apply them to the advantage of Siam.

Perhaps too that Court may contemplate the possibility of the British giving up the Tenasserim Coast at some future time and thus leaving them again in contiguity with Ava throughout a long line of frontier.

Siam possesses [an] unbroken line of seacoast from the southern boundary of Province Wellesley at the River Muda, together with all the islands, including Junkceylon, which lie along that coast. It can be no matter for surprize therefore, that the Siamese Court is so jealously tenacious of its authority over that tract, as all its previous acts have shown, and the document now [before] us shows it to be. The value of Keddah to the Siamese in their wars with Ava was fully appreciated and proved by them about twenty years ago when the Burmese had seized on Junk Ceylon and had fortified a position at the mouth of the Trang River, close upon the northern boundary of Keddah, and which river is a Siamese territory.

It may be true that the Treaty of Ava and the occupation by the British of the Tenasserim Coast have arrested or barred any hosile attempts of the Burmese on the Siamese frontier there, but the Siamese have no pledge that the British may not at some future period change their policy in this direction, and they will act upon the belief that such a change is probable. Independent however of these views and motives, leading to a cautious policy on their part, the Siamese are doubtless very desirous of holding firm possession of the outlets which the Keddah rivers afford for the

produce of the interior, and also [it] is to be apprehended that the class which could best be spared, the worthless one, will prefer the productive fields of Province Wellesley and Penang to depredating amongst the impoverished inhabitants of Keddah.

The old Panghuloos districts may, or some of them may, again try their fortunes under their old master in Keddah. But most of their men are at this moment substantial landed proprietors under the British Flag and should they return to Keddah they will probably leave portions of their families behind them, unless indeed they should be so improvident to as sell their estates, which last is a contingency which, as I have heard, some speculators have been long calculating upon, while loud in their cry for their restoration to the Ex Raja

The Ex Raja is now far advanced in life. His eldest son, Abdullah, has but a slender capacity and his brother Tuanku Daee, although more prudent, would it is to be suspected become an easy tool in the hands of his officers should he succeed to his father.

If the four Malayan Chiefs, including the Ex Raja, who are now to be placed by the Court of Bankok in charge of distinct Divisions of the Keddah Country, shall remain at peace amongst themselves it will be more than past experience of the Malayan character might warrant us in predicting.

(Signed) JAMES LOW,
Major.

Singapore
26th April 1842.

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